FOUNDING FORT UTAH

Provo's Native Inhabitants, Early Explorers, and First Year of Settlement

D. ROBERT CARTER

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Foreword

YOU HAVE PICKED UP A TEXT THAT WILL LITERALLY open the doors and windows of time to allow you a glimpse into the wonderful legacy and rich history that accompanies this place we call Provo.

In this work, the author first provides a brief but thorough overview of some of the prehistoric settlers of the Provo area. He reveals the key characteristics of their culture and tells how they sustained themselves by harvesting the food resources made available by the fertile land, the lake, the streams, and the mountains. However, the author's principal focus centers on the circumstances surrounding the arrival of the Mormon settlers who first traveled here from Salt Lake City in April 1849 and the establishment of the community that has become the Provo we know and enjoy today.

While many books and articles have been written through the years regarding the founding of Provo and its related history, in this book, D. Robert Carter breaks all records and sets new standards for accuracy and depth. Few communities can claim to have a text documenting their earliest settlement that has been so well prepared by one with comparable credentials.

Once you have had the insightful glimpse of the past that this text provides, you will view Provo with new eyes and your appreciation for those who preceded us here will be greatly increased.

MAYOR LEWIS K. BILLINGS

Provo, Utah
October 22, 2003

Introduction

ABOUT A YEAR PRIOR TO PROVO'S SESQUICENTENNIAL in 1999, my wife Lyndia and I were selected as members of a committee whose objective was to find the original site of Fort Utah. The two of us received the assignment of completing the historical research that would make it possible to find the site where the Provo City originated. In order to pinpoint the fort's location with the highest possible degree of accuracy, we found it necessary to not only survey the material that former historians had written about the settling of Provo, but also to locate and carefully study available primary documents like maps, diaries, journals, letters, minutes of meetings, autobiographies, and reminiscences that related to the establishment of the colony at Fort Utah.

During the course of our research, we found that previous historians had produced a number of good general histories of Provo. However, the broad scope of these books made it impossible for their authors to thoroughly cover many specific events relating to the founding of Fort Utah and it first year of settlement. Our research also revealed that by the late 1990s many more primary documents relating to the history of Provo's first year were available to historians than had been accessible years earlier when the survey histories of Provo were written. Using these newly available documents, we were able to more precisely locate the fort site which was only several blocks away from where previous historians had placed it.

For me, the project did not end at this point. There was a story yet to be told. Having the necessary documents obtainable and hoping to be able to use them to fill in a number of heretofore unpublished details, I decided to write

Founding Fort Utah. Since early Provo historians rarely documented their sources, it was difficult to ascertain the reliability of some of their information. Therefore, I decided to rely on primary documents as heavily as possible and use secondary sources sparingly. Armed with ample information, aided by Provo City, and encouraged by Provo's mayor, Lewis K. Billings, I set out to accomplish my task.

Readers may find some of the contents of this book to be surprising and, possibly, even shocking. I have no intention of giving away the punch line before the story is told, but perhaps a few brief comments concerning this are necessary.

Fort Utah was not what many have come to view as the stereotypical Mormon colony. In fact, in many ways it was similar to frontier settlements outside of the Great Basin. Most of the men who settled Fort Utah were rough, tough, and independent. A substantial number of the older settlers came from the backwoods South, and most of the younger people who came to Fort Utah had been born and raised on the frontier where pretensions and refined culture were rare. For many of Utah Valley's first colonizers, life in frontier Missouri and Illinois had been filled with hardships and marred by violence. In addition to this, sixteen of the early male settlers had been further hardened by life on the trail with the Mormon Battalion. They had developed into true frontiersmen.

As a result of their previous experiences, most of the earliest settlers of Fort Utah were used to hard, stark living conditions and were not immune to the frailties of being human. Also, a large number of Fort Utah's males who were over sixteen years of age were unmarried. Their foolhardy exuberance led the settlers into several volatile encounters with the Utes.

The first difficult, tumultuous year at Fort Utah was also influenced by other factors. When the fort was established in 1849, the Mormon colonization procedure was still in an early stage of evolution. People did not settle Utah Valley because they were "called." They colonized the area largely of their own free will in an attempt to better their rather grim economic situation. Good soil, an abundance of grass, and an adequate supply of water attracted farmers and ranchers. Utah Lake and Provo River beckoned to fishermen, and the valley's ample streams offered potential power to run the machines of various types of craftsmen. The longing for improved economic conditions that motivated the colonists to settle Fort Utah proved to be so urgent that the settlers were willing to establish a colony near Utah Lake, even if they had to risk the wrath of the area's longtime inhabitants, the Utes.

Mormon Indian policy was also in a state of flux in 1849. The settlers of Fort Utah initially had the noble intention of assimilating the Utes into the Mormon culture, but the procedures that later colonists followed were still in the experimental stage. Mormon leaders had not yet determined that it would be "cheaper to feed them than to fight them."

The inhabitants of Fort Utah may have reached the settlement site bearing good intentions toward the Utes, but in the end, the results in Utah Valley were much the same as they were in non-Mormon settlements throughout the West. The colonizers in Utah Valley became frustrated when most of the Utes tenaciously clung to their old culture and refused to be integrated into the Mormon way of life. Eventually, it became apparent that the two cultures could not peacefully live side by side, and the Utes and the settlers openly clashed. When "might makes right," the results are usually ugly. The colonizers of Fort Utah used some alarming tactics to mercilessly crush the Utes. They resorted to methods not unlike those that non-Mormon settlers and the United States Army later employed to overwhelm Native Americans in the surrounding territories.

Partially as a result of the above factors, for the first twenty-five or more years of Provo's existence, Mormon church leaders considered Provo to be a wayward, fractious settlement. However, despite this early state of affairs, Fort Utah, like many other frontier settlements, ultimately grew into a kinder, gentler, more civilized place to live. Provo has come a long way since that first dark and troubled year.

* * * * * *

Founding Fort Utah could not have been written without the help and cooperation of many people. First and foremost of these is my wife, Lyndia, who helped with the early research and later, during the writing process, acted as a sounding board off which to test new ideas and conclusions.

Most of my research took place in Salt Lake City in the archives and library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Their generous policy enabled me to use the vast collection of diaries, journals, reminiscences, autobiographies, maps, photographs and early letters and minutes that are housed in that fine facility where archival material is seemingly endless. Without material gleaned from the LDS Archives and LDS Library, writing this book would have been an impossibility. Steve Sorensen, Randy Dixon, Ron Watt, Bill Slaughter, Michael Landon, Christie Best, Linda Haslem, April Williamson, and Mel Bashore were among the most helpful members of the archive and library staff.

Members of the faculty and staff of Brigham Young University's Harold B. Lee Library also aided me in my research. I found Brad Westwood, Russ Taylor, Tom Wells, and others in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections to be friendly, attentive, and willing to help locate pertinent documents and historic photographs. In the Lee Library's Utah Valley Regional Family History Center, Diane Parkinson, June Bagnall, and other staff members and volunteers offered their support and cheerfully helped me locate difficult-to-find microfilms.

Assistance from employees of the Utah State Historical Society and the Utah State Archives assisted my search for militia records, pioneer autobiographies, and historic photographs.

Stan Larson and Walter Jones helped me locate the Dale Morgan papers and the sketches of John Hudson in the J. Willard Marriott Library's Special Collections at the University of Utah. They were kind enough to provide me with digital copies of some of Hudson's sketches.

Volunteers at several local libraries managed by the Daughters of Utah Pioneers kindly allowed me to search through their collections for historic pictures and useful biographies and autobiographies of Utah Valley pioneers. Those especially helpful were Lenora Allred, Spanish Fork DUP; Jerrie Fackrell, Springville DUP; and Marjorie Scott, Katherine Brimhall, Venice Rogers, Marilyn Eatough, Sylvia Thomas, and Zola Bair, Provo DUP.

Ardis Parshall was kind enough to read a portion of my manuscript and make suggestions. Historians Brian Cannon, Philip Notarianni and Jed Woodworth read the manuscript and offered endorsements. Woodworth, an accomplished editor and fellow devotee of Provo history, deserves special praise and gratitude. He obligingly read the manuscript and made many helpful suggestions and corrections. Our pleasant conversations concerning early Provo history were very beneficial.

Mayor Lewis K. Billings and his office staff offered their cooperation and positive feedback even though my work on the book ran considerably behind schedule. Their constructive actions earned my everlasting appreciation.

Stephen Hales, of Stephen Hales Creative, proffered helpful suggestions, formatted the manuscript into eye-pleasing form, and created the maps and other graphics. His quiet, non-threatening, amiable personality made it an extreme pleasure to work with him.

To the above-mentioned people and to those I may have inadvertently overlooked, I offer my sincere thanks.

D. ROBERT CARTER

CHAPTER I

Indigenous Inhabitants and Early Sojourners

NEAR THE END OF THE ICE AGE ABOUT 75,000 YEARS AGO, the fresh waters of prehistoric Lake Bonneville covered what is now Utah Valley. For millennia the lake's shoreline rose and fell, but eventually its level followed a gradually descending course. About eight to ten thousand years ago, the receding waters resulted in the formation of Utah Lake and one of the most habitable valleys in the Great Basin. Fertile, crescent-shaped Utah Valley, located directly south of Salt Lake Valley, stretched forty-five miles in length from the Traverse Range on the north to a low chain of hills on the south. The valley's width varied from two to twelve miles.

Numerous small spring branches and eight larger cold, clear creeks and rivers, some of them lined with trees, flowed from the tall mountains to the east, coursed through a wide band of rich alluvial land, and emptied into the valley's dominant feature, Utah Lake. This shallow, freshwater lake extended twenty-four miles in length and stretched about thirteen miles across at its widest point. It teemed with a variety of edible fish, the most important of which were suckers, chubs, and trout. A narrow strip of ground ran along the lake's western shoreline between the water and nearby mountainous terrain. No streams bisected this rather barren land.[1]

Utah Valley possessed all the resources needed to sustain life, and thousands of years ago, long before recorded history, ancient peoples found the valley a desirable place to live. The features that attracted them to the area were much the same as those that, centuries later, attracted the Mormon pioneers to the present site of Provo.

Utah Valley offered the native peoples abundant nutritious fish and numerous waterfowl. Many types of edible plants grew around the lake's shoreline. Native grasses thrived in the fertile sections of the valley and yielded seeds that could be ground into meal. Berry bushes sprouted not only in the valley but also on the benches and in the neighboring mountains. Ground cherries flourished on the valley floor. To the west of the lake, piñon trees provided tasty nuts. Big and small game animals lived both in the valley and in the surrounding foothills and mountains. Trees and brush along the valley's streams and in the nearby foothills supplied fuel. If this semi-arid valley provided no Garden of Eden to these early dwellers, it at least furnished them with a Garden of Eat'em.

We know relatively little about the valley's earliest prehistoric inhabitants. Our knowledge of them is based entirely on archaeological studies of the scanty material evidence they left behind. A brief, general survey of their lifestyles helps show why they valued Utah Valley so highly.

Archaeologists have determined that Paleo-Indians, or big-game hunters, were likely the first humans to exploit the resources of the valley. They inhabited the area from about 12,000 to 8,500 years ago. Prehistoric animals like mammoths, camels, and huge bison fell prey to these spear-toting huntsmen, who also ate wild vegetal foods. Rare cultural material originating from this early period usually comes from kill sites and rock overhangs.[2] However, during the last two decades of the twentieth century, archaeologists, artifact collectors, and volunteers from the Utah Valley Chapter of the Utah Statewide Archaeological Society have found along the shoreline of Utah Lake some lithic implements originating from the Paleo-Indian period.[3] Archaeologists and anthropologists are striving to fill the informational void.

As the climate warmed and became more arid, the plant life in Utah Valley changed, and the huge animals became extinct. They were replaced by smaller animals that are more familiar to us today: American bison, elk, deer, mountain sheep, antelope, and rabbits. This difference in the environment made necessary a change in lifestyle. About 8,500 to 2,500 years ago, hunters and gatherers, who scientists have labeled the Archaic Culture, scoured this valley in their quest for both flora and fauna. These nomadic or semi-nomadic people commonly lived near springs or other water sources and relied heavily on plants and rabbits for food. Milling stones and nets became common implements. Hunters also stalked animals by using small spears thrown with the aid of an arm-lengthening device called an atlatl.[4]

Some of the artifacts associated with Archaic sites in Utah Valley indicate that these ancient people harvested fish from Utah Lake. The lowest cultural level inside Spotten Cave, which is located at the southern end of Goshen Valley, dates to about 6,000 years ago. Here among the cultural debris, archaeologists

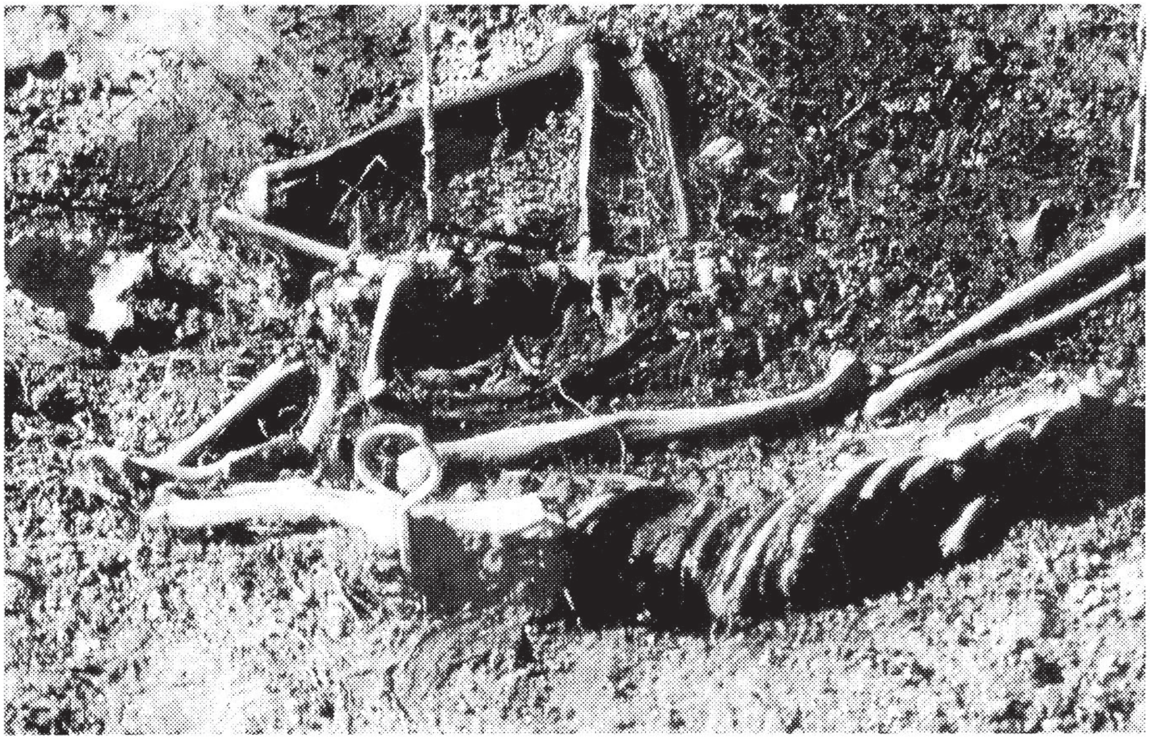


FIGURE I

Burial site of an Archaic man and a canine companion near Goshen Bay on Utah Lake. *In the summer of 1991, fishermen found a human skull that led archaeologists to the discovery of this 5,500-year-old burial site. The remains of a dog lie in the foreground. In the background lies a human skull fragment* (left) *and a spinal column with long arm bones lying on either side* (right). PHOTO COURTESY JAY AND MERIANNE NELSON.

found fish bones, and at an Archaic site on Utah Lake near the Jordan River outlet, they found fish bones and grooved rock sinkers.[5]

In the 1990s, archaeologists uncovered the most important find in Utah Valley dating from the Archaic Period. Late in July 1991, when the water level of Utah Lake reached a near-record low, two fishermen discovered a human skull near the receding waters of the lake's southwestern shoreline. Fearing foul play, the anglers contacted the Utah County Sheriff's Office. Lawmen visited the site and gathered up a skull, ribs, and other bone fragments. They sent these artifacts to the state medical examiner's office, where experts determined the bones were actually the remains of a prehistoric man.

Dr. Joel Janetski, an archaeologist from Brigham Young University, and archaeologists from the University of Utah received authorization to excavate the site. Their study determined that the skeleton was that of a medium-sized, middle-aged male who had evidently enjoyed good health most of his life. Excavators also found the nearly-complete skeleton of a coyote-sized dog buried with him.

Incredibly, the scientists uncovered samples of matting and twined and coiled basketry that had been preserved by the dampness of the site. In addition, they recovered awls, antler flakers, and a large knife blade or spear point that had been buried with the body.

The archaeologists sent a sample of the matting found at the site to a lab for radio carbon dating. Results of the tests showed that the matting had been woven approximately 5,500 years ago. "Mosida Man" ranks as one of the oldest burials found in Utah, and the dog buried with him provides an example of one of the oldest human/dog burials found in North America.[6]

Other recent archaeological evidence of the Archaic period comes from an excavation conducted on a beach camp near Goshen Bay. At this site, excavators found atlatl points and stone sinkers, as well as harpoons, hooks, and small beads formed from bone. These artifacts provide rare examples of Archaic tools and handicrafts. Archaeologists believe the Archaic people spent time at Goshen Bay in the early spring fishing, gathering bird eggs, and crafting tools.[7] At the end of the Archaic Period, there seems to have been a marked reduction in the human population.

As time passed, yet another culture inhabited Utah Valley and the current site of Provo. Anthropologists have labeled this new way of life the Frémont Culture. Most scholars believe this more sedentary culture gradually evolved when existing hunters/gatherers learned how to plant and harvest corn.[8] Limited use of horticulture supplied the Frémont with a more reliable source of food and enabled them to live in a semi-permanent fashion along the lower Provo River as well as in many other locations throughout the Great Basin.

These horticulturalists, who also hunted big and small game animals with bows and arrows and gathered edible wild plant foods, lived in Utah from about 500 A.D. through the 14th century.[9] Frémont sites are quite common in Utah Valley; over one hundred of them have been recorded within the Provo City limits alone.[10] The size of these sites and the areas where they are located indicate that these people lived in small family groups rather than in large villages.

Only a few Frémont sites in the valley have been scientifically excavated, and unfortunately, sites are continually being destroyed by construction of housing subdivisions and shopping malls. Work done on Seamons Mound and several mounds on Hinckley Farm, both near Provo Airport, and work on Woodard Mound and Spotten Cave near Goshen, reveal that the Frémont used both permanent and seasonal dwellings. Many of these people lived in relatively permanent semi-subterranean pit houses or in small adobe-walled structures. The Frémont who lived on these sites appear to have exploited the surrounding area for aquatic and animal resources while practicing limited horticulture.

The Frémont preferred to live on the banks of streams near Utah Lake to be near one of their most important foods—fish. Excavators found numerous chub and sucker bones at all such sites except Spotten Cave, which lies some distance from the shoreline of the lake. Scientific analysis revealed that, at

Seamons Mound and Hinckley Farm, 40 percent of the bones recovered came from fish, 19 percent from birds, and 17 percent from deer. In 1983–84, Brigham Young University students excavated the Smoking Pipe site in Provo's Fort Utah Park near Geneva Road, about a mile and a half northeast of Seamons Mound and Hinckley Farm. Excavators took special efforts to recover as many bones from this site as possible. Eighty-six percent of the bones collected were those of fish, and 13 percent were bison.[11]

At Seamons Mound, diggers found two small cache pits partially filled with numerous fish bones. From this evidence, it appears that these ancient people stored dried fish underground for future use. At the same site, student archaeologists found evidence of an unusual method by which the Frémont apparently cooked fish. They discovered the remains of a small fish encased in a wad of clay and cooked in the fire pit.[12]

Archaeologists also uncovered evidence from Utah Valley sites that shows how these prehistoric inhabitants caught their fish. Excavators found bone harpoon heads at Woodard Mounds, near Goshen, and at Seamons Mound. One harpoon showed considerable signs of wear from being hafted inside a hollow tube. Grooved rock balls about two inches in diameter are fairly common artifacts retrieved from Frémont sites in Utah Valley. Archaeologists theorize that these grooved balls are sinkers used to hold down the bottom of fishing nets.[13] Small pieces of coiled baskets, cord, twine, and cedar bark cordage recovered from Spotten Cave suggest that the inhabitants of the cave used vegetal materials to manufacture useful implements.[14] These early inhabitants of the valley undoubtedly used the same materials to weave fish nets and basket traps.

After living in Utah Valley for hundreds of years, the Frémont began to abandon the area in about 1250 A.D. A twenty-four-year drought made it difficult to successfully practice horticulture. The long dry spell very likely also affected their fishing success. In addition, the Frémont seemed to have faced competition from newcomers. It appears that groups of hunters/gatherers, who were apparently the ancestors of the Ute, Paiute, and Shoshone, began migrating into the area from the southwestern Great Basin about 900 A.D. Unable to cope with multiple difficulties, the Frémont eventually disappeared. They may have died out, or the new peoples may have forced them to leave; some scholars believe the Frémont mixed with new peoples who were moving into the area and adapted to a new way of life.[15]

At any rate, yet another hunter/gatherer culture made Utah Valley its home. Anthropologists have named these new inhabitants the Timpanogots Ute. The name *Timpanogots* provides a description of the area in which the people lived. In the native dialect, it means, roughly, people who live near the mouth of a rocky canyon through which water flows.[16]

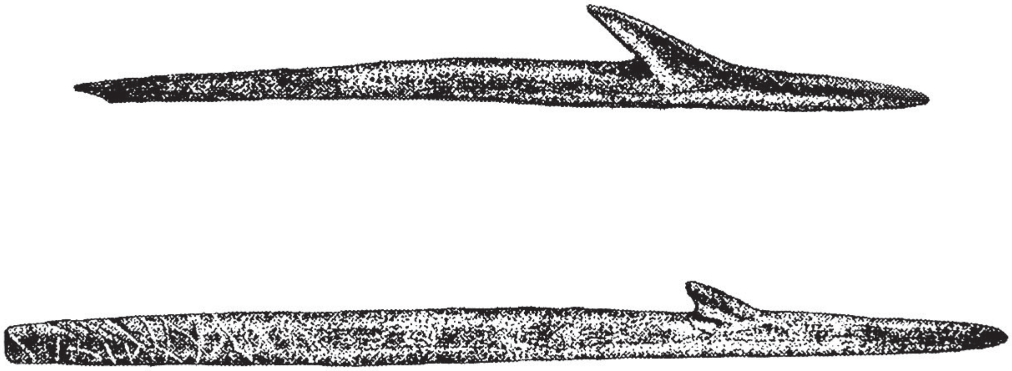


FIGURE 2

Two bone harpoon heads taken from Woodard Mound, a Frémont site in southern Utah Valley near Goshen. *Utah Valley's prehistoric Indians fashioned harpoon heads from animal bone, hafted them on wood or reed shafts, and used the finished implement to spear fish in Utah Lake and its tributaries.* COURTESY MUSEUM OF PEOPLES AND CULTURES, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY.

These new people, relatives of the Utes who inhabited a vast area of land in Colorado and eastern Utah, gradually adopted lifestyles that enabled them to live in the Eastern Great Basin environment. Although some of the Utes may have stayed in Utah Valley during all of the seasons, the Timpanogots generally moved about, following their food sources through the valley, up the foothills, into the mountains, and back into the valley again.[17]

The Timpanogots Utes usually spent the spring in Utah Valley, where they fished, gathered cattail sprouts, dug bulrush bulbs and other roots, hunted waterfowl, and gathered bird eggs. They ate fish fresh or dried, and they cached some dried fish for times of hunger.

Every summer the Timpanogots Utes captured molting waterfowl near the shores of the lake. In late summer they moved into the foothills and mountains where they caught ground squirrels and harvested choke cherries, elder berries, serviceberries and other fruits of nature. During this season, some Timpanogots stayed in the valley to catch crickets and grasshoppers which they roasted in pits, ground on stone slabs, mixed with berries, and molded into a storable food that mountain men of a later era called "desert fruitcake."

In the autumn months, the Timpanogots ventured to outlying mountain valleys in quest of deer and mountain sheep. Women gathered grass seeds which they ground into flour. Areas west of Utah Lake gave hungry families pine nuts, rabbits, and antelope. In good years, when rabbits and antelope were plentiful, larger groups of people hunted these animals communally.

The food seekers generally returned to the valleys for the winter. They located along streams, on natural levees, or on beaches near the shores of the lake, likely in the same habitations they had left earlier in the year. These locations provided good access to fresh water, fuel, and food. Fishermen caught whitefish, which spawned in the winter. Hunters sought elk, deer, and mountain sheep wintering in these lower elevations. A few lucky archers even downed an occasional buffalo. In times of need, the hungry opened their winter larder and ate their caches of "desert fruitcake," piñon nuts, and dried fish and meat.

Like the earlier peoples, the Timpanogots Utes relied heavily on suckers, chubs, trout, and mountain whitefish for nourishment. Fish were likely their most precious resource, and trout, some of them weighing up to thirty pounds, reigned as the most desirable catch. During spring spawning season, the early inhabitants of Utah Valley crowded the streams flowing into the lake and caught fish in large enough numbers to stagger the imagination of even the most successful modern-day knights of the rod and reel.

Evidence collected by archaeologists and anthropologists provides us with an overview of how these early residents caught fish.[18] One method started with the construction of a brush and sapling weir across a stream. Then men traveled upstream and frightened fish toward the weir or crowded them against it by rolling a log downstream toward the dam. When the fish were bunched in the area between the men and the dam, the women waded into the fray, clubbing fish left and right, scooping them out with their hands, catching them with woven dip nets or baskets, and throwing them onto shore. During spawning season, the Timpanogots also fished with nets strung across a stream and weighted at the

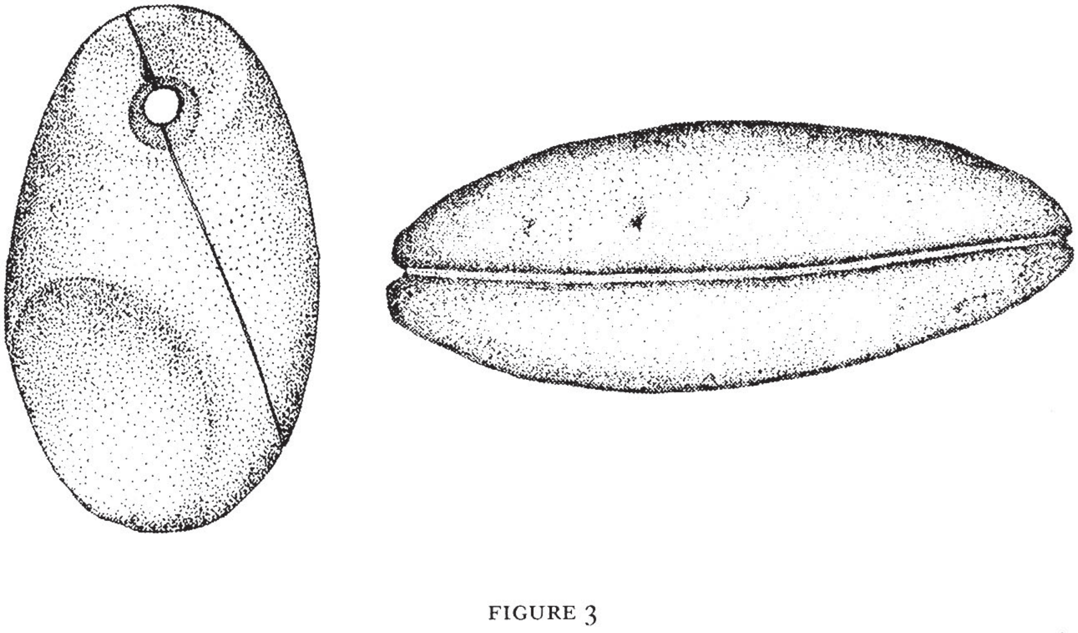


FIGURE 3

A perforated sinker and a groved sinker found near Utah Lake. *Fish was one of the most important foods of the prehistoric and historic Indians of Utah Valley. Native Americans sometimes used large nets to catch fish. They used sinkers like these to hold the lower end of a net close to the bottom of the lake or stream.* COURTESY MUSEUM OF PEOPLES AND CULTURES, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY.

bottom with stone sinkers. They likely used basket traps as well.

After spawning season, when fish were more scattered, the Timpanogots men resorted to more sportsmanlike but less efficient methods of harvesting the finny tribe. They stalked the fish with spears or with bows and arrows. Sometimes the Timpanogots caught fish by attaching primitive bone or wood hooks called gorgets to a woven fishing line. They also occasionally fished from rafts made of logs, willows, and cattails.

Ravenous families ate a portion of the fish fresh. After cutting some of the catch into bite-sized pieces, the women boiled them in earthen vessels. The Timpanogots likely also roasted fish over open fires.

Those fish that were to be stored for future use went through a different process. Busy hands split them down the middle, removed the backbones, and either placed the flesh to dry on the end of a tall stick stuck in the ground or laid it to dry across two lateral poles elevated high enough to keep the fish out of reach of dogs. After the meat was dry, village members placed it into buckskin or elk skin bags shaped like flour sacks with rounded bottoms. Then the people hid these bags of dried fish in holes dug in a hill or a dry bank and left them there to gormandize on in times of scarcity.

Life in Utah Valley was not easy. The Timpanogots faced a demanding struggle for survival, but, over hundreds of years, they found a way to exist. Due to the natural resources found in the lake, valley, and surrounding hills and mountains, their living conditions were more satisfactory than those of people inhabiting most other areas of the Great Basin. These same relatively comfortable conditions remained until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when the Timpanogots way of life rapidly changed as a result of contact with Spanish explorers and traders.

Many people living in America's thirteen colonies thrilled to the noteworthy events of 1776. Significant incidents were not, however, confined to the Atlantic Coast. Far beyond the thirteen English colonies, in Santa Fe, New Mexico, Spanish authorities, including New Mexican Governor don Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta and Franciscan Fathers Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Silvestre Veléz de Escalante, planned an exploration in search of a northern route connecting Santa Fe to Monterey, California. The Spanish hoped this route would economically and militarily strengthen the new California colony through increased trade and communication with some of their well-established settlements in New Mexico.

The expedition was almost cancelled when its organizers received word that Father Francisco Garcés had succeeded in blazing a southern route between California and the Hopi villages of New Mexico. Fortunately, Governor Mendinueta and the two fathers decided that gathering useful information about

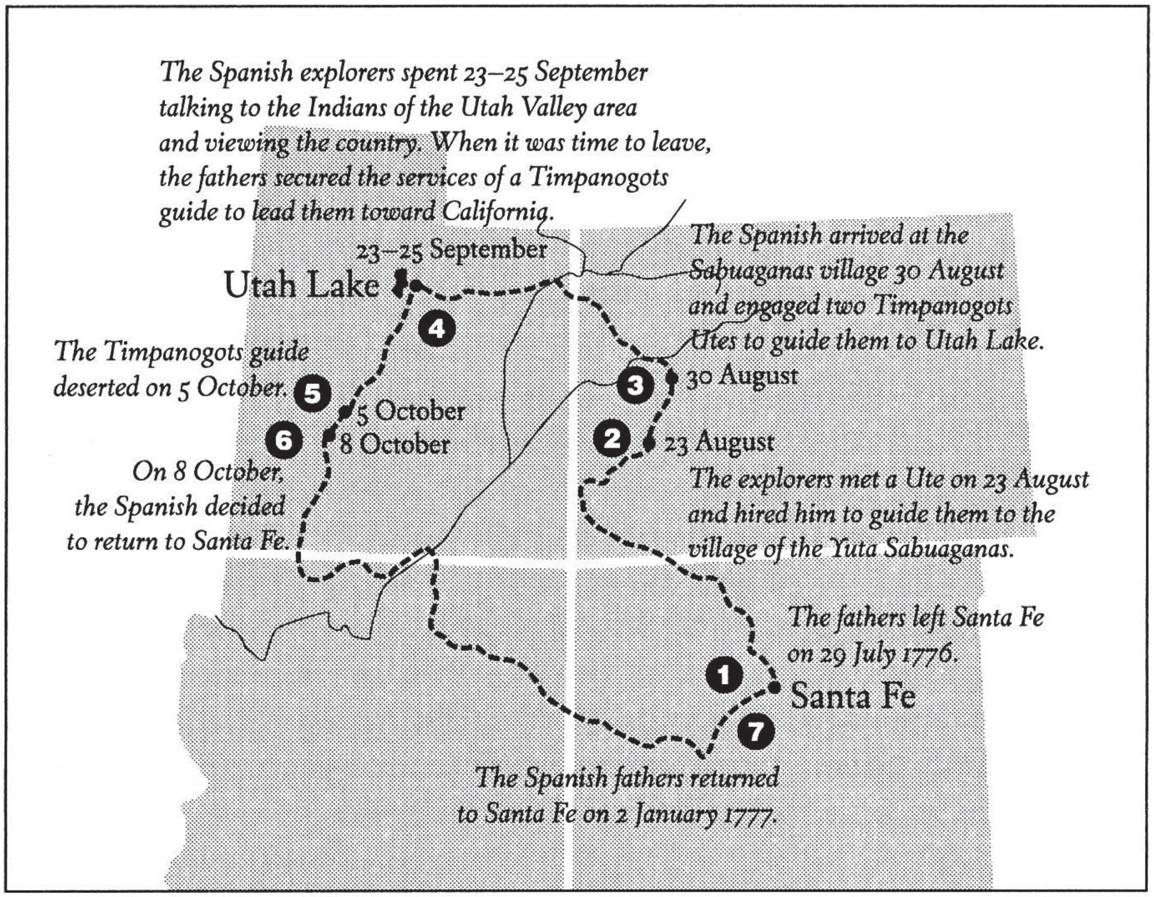

The Spanish explorers spent 23–25 September talking to the Indians of the Utah Valley area and viewing the country. When it was time to leave, the fathers secured the services of a Timpanogots guide to lead them toward California.
23–25 September
Utah Lake
4
The Spanish arrived at the Sabuaganas village 30 August and engaged two Timpanogots Utes to guide them to Utah Lake.
3
30 August
The Timpanogots guide deserted on 5 October.
5
5 October
6
8 October
2
23 August
On 8 October, the Spanish decided to return to Santa Fe.
The explorers met a Ute on 23 August and hired him to guide them to the village of the Yuta Sabuaganas.
The fathers left Santa Fe on 29 July 1776.
1
Santa Fe
7
The Spanish fathers returned to Santa Fe on 2 January 1777.

FIGURE 4

Route followed by Spanish Fathers Domínguez and Escalante in 1776–1777. *After returning from their trip, members of the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition provided favorable information about Utah Valley that encouraged Spanish traders to visit the Ute villages near Utah Lake.*

the northern country and its inhabitants provided ample reason for making the trip even if the location of a route to Monterey was not as critical now as they had once thought.[19]

The wayfarers left Santa Fe 29 July 1776 traveling on a previously established route through what is now northwestern New Mexico and the southwestern corner of Colorado. The travelers later turned northeastward and ventured toward the Sabuaganas Ute villages situated on the Gunnison River's north fork.

Fortune smiled upon the adventurers when they happened upon the first Indian they had seen for weeks. He agreed to lead them to a Sabuaganas village where chance again favored the Spanish. In the village, they found two Timpanogots Utes, a man and a twelve-year-old boy, who had recently arrived there from their home on the shores of Utah Lake. This pair agreed to guide the explorers to Utah Valley. The Spanish named the older of the two Silvestre; the younger one they called Joaquín. Silvestre happened to be no ordinary Ute; he ranked as the third most important chief of the Timpanogots.[20] The Spanish were really on a roll.

The newly acquired guides followed a route that led northeastward then switched to a northwesterly direction and entered what is now Utah. The group crossed the Green River near present-day Jensen and Dinosaur National Monument. From there they traveled up the Duchesne and Strawberry Rivers, crossed over a divide, and descended Diamond Fork Creek to the Spanish Fork River, which they followed to the mouth of Spanish Fork Canyon. On 23 September 1776, this small troop of twelve men, led by the blue-clad priests and guided by two Utes, clambered to the top of a knoll on the south bank of the Spanish Fork River and became the first known Euro-Americans to view what we now call Utah Valley. Remembering that it was the feast day of Mary, "Lady of Mercy," they named the expansive basin in front of them the Valley of Our Lady of Mercy of Timpanogos.[21]

As the men viewed the valley, they noticed a large number of fires that they interpreted to be smoke signals spreading news of their arrival. The explorers descended through the haze and onto the plain. In their search for a campsite, the travelers passed over expansive meadows that had recently been burned. The Spanish inferred from these circumstances that the horseless Timpanogots had seen the expedition riding horses and assumed that they were raiding Shoshones. The Catholic fathers reasoned that by burning the meadows and decreasing the amount of fodder available, the Utes may have hoped to reduce the amount of time their supposed enemies would stay in the valley.

After making camp on what we now know as the Spanish Fork River just south of the present town of Spanish Fork,[22] a small group apparently consisting of Father Domínguez, Silvestre, young Joaquín, and Andrés Muñiz, who was the interpreter, set out in search of the Timpanogots. After traveling about twenty miles, the horsemen reached a village near the mouth of the present-day Provo River.[23] Being alarmed by these unknown visitors on horseback, some Timpanogots rushed out with weapons ready and deployed in a defensive stance. Silvestre soon allayed the fears of the villagers, and the inhabitants welcomed the newcomers into their encampment where the priest smoked with them and sought to ascertain their desire to become Christians. Domínguez interpreted their friendly words and actions as signs of their willingness to embrace the Catholic faith.

Father Domínguez made two requests as curious people from nearby areas continued to arrive. He appealed for a guide to lead his group southwestward, and he asked the Timpanogots to send for their head chief. Domínguez and the others then spent the night among their newfound friends.

The next morning, 24 September, Father Domínguez sent messengers to the Spanish camp on the Spanish Fork River summoning his men to the Indian village. Soon a large number of Timpanogots, including the head chief, arrived. The native people appear to have been eager to view the curious outsiders. The remainder of the Spanish horsemen approached the Indian camp a little before noon.

The leaders of both groups met in council. The priests thought the Timpanogots Utes seemed anxious to have the Spanish return to form a permanent settlement and act as Ute allies against the Shoshones. Even though they admitted they knew little about the land through which the Spanish wished to travel, the Timpanogots agreed to furnish a guide whom the fathers named José María.

At this point, the Spanish asked the Timpanogots for a token of their sincerity. In return the priests handed out a few gifts. They presented the head chief with a hunting knife, several strings of beads, and a hatchet. Then they distributed a few beads to each Ute in attendance.

Impressed with the area but being anxious to move on, the Spanish decided to leave the next day. The explorers were low on provisions and asked to buy a supply of the one commodity of which the Utes apparently possessed a surplus or could replace relatively easily, dried fish. The villagers provided them with a considerable amount of it.

The next day, before the Spanish resumed their journey, the Utes presented them with the requested symbol of their sincerity, a representation of four male figures painted with earth and red ocher on a piece of buckskin. The Spanish promised they would bring this symbol with them when they returned.

The departing guests offered some final instructions before they left. The Utes' attempts to follow these instructions must have provided the Spanish with some comic relief on this otherwise solemn occasion. In the event that the Utes had any problems with sickness or enemies before the Spanish returned, the fathers told them to call for the aid of God by saying, "Oh true God, aid us! Favor us!" The Timpanogots unsuccessfully attempted to repeat this phrase several times. They were obviously experiencing considerable difficulty mastering it. The Spanish came to the rescue and suggested that it would suffice if the Utes simply said the words, "Jesús María! Jesús María!" These words the Utes could repeat with ease, and Silvestre fervently led them in their recitations which they kept up as the Spanish prepared to leave.

When it came time to depart, the Utes said their farewells with great tenderness. Silvestre embraced the fathers and almost wept. Their young guide, Joaquín, had determined previously not to stay in the Ute village but to accompany the fathers. The Timpanogots reminded the Spanish for a final time of their promise to return and said they would expect them the next year.

The Domínguez-Escalante expedition did not succeed in finding a route to Monterey. About eleven miles north of the present town of Milford, expedition members decided to return to Santa Fe, and they successfully sought a return route to New Mexico instead. Their decision was undoubtedly influenced by inclement winter weather, a shortage of supplies, and the loss of their guide, José María, who deserted them north of present day Milford.

Neither Father Domínguez nor Father Escalante ever returned to Utah Valley, and the much-anticipated mission settlement was never established. However, the glowing descriptions penned by Domínguez and Escalante in their joint journal, the map of the area drawn by the expedition's cartographer, Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, a letter Miera wrote to the King of Spain, and accounts the members of the expedition passed on by word of mouth undoubtedly influenced others to visit Utah Valley and the Timpanogots Utes.

In his letter to the king, Miera called the valley "the most pleasing, beautiful, and fertile site in all New Spain." He estimated that it could accommodate as many people as Mexico City.[24] The Domínguez-Escalante journal describes a well-watered land relatively free of trees. It states that the valley would likely support more villages than all of New Mexico. According to the journal, wild flax and hemp thrived on the valley floor, firewood grew along the streams and in the canyons, and pastures flourished in the valley and in the surrounding mountains. The fathers found numerous rabbits inhabiting the valley and countless fowl living near the lake. The journal noted that the lake teemed with fish, a staple the Timpanogots relied on so heavily that the Utes of Colorado called their western neighbors the "Fish-Eaters."[25]

While the fathers enthusiastically spread news of Utah Valley's many alluring features, it was something the area lacked that initially tempted other Euro-Americans to make return visits. The Domínguez-Escalante expedition returned with the news that the Timpanogots had no horses. To enterprising Spaniards, this meant that trade could be opened with the Utes of Utah Valley.

Spanish conquistadors introduced horses into New Mexico in 1598, but they deemed it advantageous to keep the animals for themselves and limit their use among the area's native inhabitants. During the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, however, insurgent Indians stole a great number of horses, some of which they traded to the tribes inhabiting the Great Plains. The Shoshones, whose territory bordered the plains, had likely acquired horses before 1700. They found the animals useful for raiding, trading, and hunting buffalo.

There are good reasons why the Timpanogots Utes did not obtain horses until almost a century later. Until the latter part of the eighteenth century, the troubles the Utah Valley Utes faced in getting and keeping horses seem to have outweighed the benefits of having them.[26] The Timpanogots found it difficult to steal the animals because the advantage lay with the people who already owned the horses. The Utes in Utah Valley possessed few commodities that could be offered in exchange for horses. And the Utes lacked trading partners. Their enemies, the Shoshones, lived to the north and east, and horseless Indians occupied the land in all other directions. Horses, if the Ute had them, would be of little use for hunting buffalo since the powerful Shoshones occupied both Salt Lake Valley and Uinta Basin, the two neighboring areas where buffalo could be found. To reach the buffalo on the Great Plains, the Utes would have faced considerable danger by passing through Shoshone territory.

Moreover, owning and maintaining a horse herd would have created some problems for the Timpanogots. Keeping the herd safe and making the equipment necessary for horseback riding consumed a considerable amount of time. During severe Great Basin winters, snow covered much available forage, and the feed that was attainable contained less nutrients during cold weather. Some horses would undoubtedly die, and others would lose strength and vitality. As a result, each year the Utes would need to replenish the herd. The Utes could build herds only through trading, raiding, or breeding, and all of these methods presented seemingly insurmountable problems.

Horse traders from New Mexico who were seeking furs and slaves eventually helped the Utes obtain horses. After the return of the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition, Spanish subjects anxious to trade with the Utes progressively worked their way northwestward toward the Timpanogots who lived near Utah Lake. The earliest trading routes are not precisely known, but later travelers gradually refined the trail until they discovered the most efficient route. The trail, which came to be known as the Spanish Trail, is described here using current geographic names. It cut through the southwestern corner of Colorado and entered Utah. Heading in a northwesterly direction, the trail crossed the Colorado and Green Rivers near the towns of Moab and Green River, continued toward the northwest skirting the south edge of the Book Cliffs, and likely angled through Price Valley before following Spanish Fork Canyon down into Utah Valley.[27]

The first Spanish traders may have reached the Provo River a few years after Domínguez and Escalante's return to New Mexico. Although Spanish records that could prove this have not yet been discovered, we do know that the Timpanogots, who did not possess horses at the time of the Spanish visit in 1776, had acquired some of these animals through theft or trade by at least the first decade of the nineteenth century.

The first concrete evidence of the existence of Spanish interaction with the Timpanogots comes from a letter written in 1805. In September of that year, New Mexico's governor, Joaquín de Real Alencaster reported the commendable actions of Manuel Mestas, an interpreter of Indian/Spanish descent, to the commandant general in Mexico City. Mestas, then seventy years old, had worked with the Utes for fifty years and had helped develop their relatively peaceful attitude toward the Spanish. According to Alencaster, the aged interpreter had just recovered eleven horses and mules which Indians had earlier stolen from New Mexicans.

Then shortly after this fete, the seemingly indefatigable Mestas left New Mexico again to visit the Timpanogots Utes. The interpreter intended to recover horses and mules that Shoshones had stolen from the Spanish and that the Timpanogots had recaptured. In a letter Alencaster wrote to the commandant general on 20 November 1805, the governor described Mestas' recovery of nine of the twenty-eight stolen animals. By the time Mestas reached the Timpanogots camp, the Shoshones had already retaken the rest.[28]

These letters show that in the nineteenth century interactions were occurring between the Spanish in Santa Fe and the Utes, some of them taking place from as far away as Utah Lake. Though these early exchanges may not have occurred frequently, a number of Spaniards made contact with Timpanogots Utes on occasion. Significantly, Alencaster's communications reveal that the Timpanogots acquired horses sometime between 1776 and 1805, and by 1805 the Utes were experienced enough to employ these animals in raids against other tribes.

After Alencaster's letters, there is a gap in records covering Euro-American and Timpanogots activities in Utah Valley, though later records show some interaction definitely occurred. Not until 1813 do Spanish court records resume the story. These records show that New Mexicans were not allowed to trade with the Timpanogots without first getting a license. Some traders ignored this law, were caught, and brought to trial. Fortunately, records of a case involving an illegal foray into Utah Valley exist.

In September 1813, Mauricio Arze, Lagos García, and five men serving under them were summoned to court to answer charges of illegally conducting a four-month trading expedition to several Ute bands in the northern country. Their venture had begun earlier that year in March and had ended in July. Like Domínguez and Escalante, Arze and García spent three days visiting a village near Utah Lake. Their motives, however, differed from those of the earlier expedition. Arze and García sought to make a profit trading horses, not to offer spiritual and material aid. Not surprisingly, the Utes treated the traders less cordially than they had the Spanish fathers.

If statements made by the trading party's members can be believed, only a little trading occurred while the Spanish waited overnight for the inhabitants of two villages to assemble. When all was ready the next day, broader trading negotiations opened. According to the Spanish, the Timpanogots refused to pay for horses with anything but slaves, claiming they had used slaves for currency in the past. The Spaniards refused to accept slaves as payment. This refusal incited the Indians to begin slaughtering the expedition's animals. The villagers killed eight horses and a mule before the chief finally calmed them. The alarmed traders grouped the remaining animals and carefully guarded them through that next fearful night.

The next morning, Arze and García's group left the Timpanogots in haste, and traveled toward another band of Utes living near the Sevier River. When the company reached the Sevier, they met a Sanpete Ute who offered to guide them to a Ute band heretofore unknown to the party. The expectant traders accepted the Ute's offer. While two herders stayed behind with the pack train, the other five men took trade animals and supplies and followed the guide.

Three days later, the traders and their guide came upon a group of heavily bearded Indians who initially raised their weapons in defense. When the defensive Indians learned the Spaniards had horses to trade, they laid down their weapons and agreed to barter the next day. Later that night, however, the Spanish overheard several of their new acquaintances making plans to treacherously kill their visitors. The traders made camp and watched for an opportunity to sneak off. Under cover of darkness, the Spanish quietly stole away and traveled as rapidly as they could during that night and the next day until they safely reached the pack train awaiting their return.

These hapless dealers in horseflesh then headed toward the Colorado River. When they reached an Indian village, their hopes must have soared as they were hospitably greeted, but, once again, they were treated kindly only until they refused to trade for slaves. At that point, the villagers became unruly, and rather than face another conflict, the Spanish claimed they finally agreed to accept twelve slaves in return for horses. During the entire journey, the traders only collected 109 peltries. This they considered to be a small amount.[29]

The court records for this case reveal the extent of the Spanish interaction with the Utes. By 1813 an established trade existed between the Timpanogots and the New Mexicans, and the Utes customarily exchanged slaves for horses. Some of the traders knew the Ute language well enough to act as interpreters. It is important to note that the traveling merchants seemed to be acquainted with most of the bands of Utes in Central Utah. The only new customers Arze and García's group met were the bearded Indians living beyond the Sevier River.

Even though Arze and García apparently did not want slaves, other traders working out of New Mexico continued to swap horses, guns, ammunition, and other merchandise to the Utes in exchange for slaves. This trade expanded westward to the Pacific Coast after the winter of 1830–31, when American fur trappers William Wolfskill and George C. Yount extended the Spanish Trail to California.[30] This profitable business continued until Mormons ended it several years after their arrival in the Great Basin.

The horses, guns, and ammunition acquired from traders radically changed the Ute way of life. Their population grew. They organized into mounted bands larger than family units and became more mobile and warlike. Once they mastered the use of the horse, the Utes grew more powerful and aggressive. They developed a fighting force mighty enough to retake their former hunting grounds in the Uinta Basin from the Shoshones. They also forced the Shoshones from Salt Lake Valley, making it a no man's land separating the territory claimed by each tribe.[31] The Utes also raided less powerful tribes, such as the Paiutes, to capture slaves for trading purposes.

Introduction of the horse into the Ute culture also made acquisition and transportation of food easier. As Utes hunted for food over a larger area, various Ute bands began having more contact with each other.[32] Utes other than the Timpanogots attended the annual fishing fests held on the lower Provo River during spawning season. Larger numbers of Indians from distant areas like the Uinta Basin, Sanpete Valley, and Sevier Valley found it easier to gather near the mouth of the river. Horses not only enabled neighboring Utes to travel to Utah Valley but also helped them carry home more dried fish.

The Timpanogots, invigorated by the possession of horses, met more trading partners when Euro-American trappers entered Utah Valley in the early 1820s. These mountain men, mainly of French-Canadian, British, and American descent, traded for peltries rather than slaves. They converged upon the Great Basin from the north, south, and east in search of beaver pelts used in the manufacture of stylish, high-topped beaver felt hats.

Unfortunately, many mountain men could neither read nor write; consequently, written accounts of their visits to Utah Valley are uncommon. Fur company records and a few journals, letters, and reminiscent accounts provide us with all we know about their activities near Utah Lake. Among the men who were better with pelts than pencils was Provo's namesake, Etienne Provost, a trapper of French-Canadian descent.

In the fall of 1824, Provost and a small number of men were among the first known trappers to enter Utah Valley. Born in 1785 about twenty miles from Montreal in the village of Chambly,[33] Provost may have embarked on his notable trapping career as early as 1814. By 1817, he was trapping for a company based in St. Louis. That year, as Provost and his companions worked the headwaters of the Platte and Arkansas Rivers, they were arrested by a military force from Santa Fe for illegally trapping on Spanish soil. The soldiers confiscated the trappers' goods and escorted them as prisoners back to the New Mexican capital, where the accused trespassers were confined for forty-eight days. When Provost and the others were finally released, they returned to St. Louis, poorer but wiser.

After Mexico achieved independence in 1821, this repressive atmosphere changed and American trade with Mexico flourished. Provost gravitated back to the Southwest. In 1824 he left his headquarters in Taos and trapped northward, establishing his base camp at the junction of the Green and White Rivers in what is now eastern Utah. It was from this camp that he and his men worked their way westward into the Great Basin, through Utah Valley, and into Salt Lake Valley.

Provost's eventful trip into Salt Lake Valley nearly ended with a hair raising experience. In October 1824, he and his men trudged northward from Utah Valley, exploring the river running from Utah Lake into Great Salt Lake. They had likely passed out of Ute territory in Utah Valley and were north of the Point of the Mountain when they met a band of Shoshones led by the treacherous Mauvais Gauche, or "Bad Left Hand." Provost was apparently unaware that, earlier in the year, trappers from the Hudson Bay Company stole several horses from these Shoshones and killed one of their warriors.[34] Now the Shoshones sought revenge. Provost and his group unjustly suffered the consequences.

The Shoshones claimed to be friendly and invited the trappers to smoke the pipe of peace. Before the circle of men had formed, the Indian leader explained that his medicine forbade metal objects to be near when the peace pipe was smoked. Knowing the Indians had some bizarre and unexplainable beliefs, and likely not wishing to cause trouble, Provost unhesitatingly set aside his weapons, and his men followed his example.

The trappers were sitting in a circle interspersed among the Indians when the ceremony began. As the pipe was passed, the chief gave a prearranged signal. The Shoshones threw off their blankets, grabbed the weapons they had concealed beneath them, and commenced to slaughter the unsuspecting trappers. Provost, being a large and powerful man, extricated himself and escaped with his life. He later found safety in the mountains among other trapping companies.[35]

Exactly how many of Provost's men escaped and how many were killed will likely never be known. Warren A. Ferris, who penned his account of the tragedy years later, stated that Provost and three or four others escaped and "the remainder of the party of fifteen were all massacred."[36] General William H. Ashley, who talked with Provost early in the summer of 1825, wrote that eight trappers were killed and Provost and one other man escaped. Since Ashley spoke in person with Provost less than a year after the incident occurred, and Ferris seems to have received his information from a third party years later, Ashley's casualty totals are the more probable.[37]

The Shoshone attack did not seem to deter Provost. He returned to the Great Basin the very next year. Provost stayed involved in the fur trade for many more years and received the nickname, "Man of the Mountains."

In a roundabout way, the massacre related above helped give Provo City its name more than two decades later. In memory of the treacherous stream-side Shoshone attack on Provost and his men, the trappers gave the name "Proveau's Fork" to what is currently called Jordan River. (The river is labeled "Proveau's Fork" on fur trapper Warren A. Ferris' 1836 map of the region.)[38] It wasn't until Mormon settlers arrived in 1847 that the name of "Proveau's Fork" was changed to the "Western Jordan River"[39] and later shortened to the Jordan. Somehow by 1848, Provost's name had become associated with the stream previously known as the Timpanogos River, and by 1849 this stream was commonly known as Provo River.[40] Because of its proximity to Utah Lake, the first Mormon settlement in Utah Valley was originally called "Fort Utah," the "Utah Settlement," or just plain "Utah." However, since the original fort was only a few feet from the banks of Provo River, the settlement also became associated with that stream, and it was common for settlers to refer to the new colony as "the settlement on the Provo" or just plain "Provo."[41] By early 1850, the name of the settlement had officially been changed to Provo.[42]

Etienne Provost died in St. Louis, Missouri, 3 July 1850, a little over a year after the establishment of the Utah Valley settlement that after January 1850 bore his name. Although we can never be sure, it is very unlikely that he ever knew of the honor.

It is interesting to note that the engraved image accepted for years as that of Etienne Provost was not really based on a sketch of the famous trapper. More than sixty years ago, Miss Stella Drumm, an expert on the fur trade, identified the likeness as being that of one Jean Nicolet.[43] The representation of Provost that once hung in the Provo City Library seems to have been based on the engraving of Nicolet. Legends and misinformation about images, like stains caused by strong frontier coffee, seem to last forever, and some residents still think of Provost as a handsome, buckskin-clad, fearless-looking trapper with mustache and goatee.

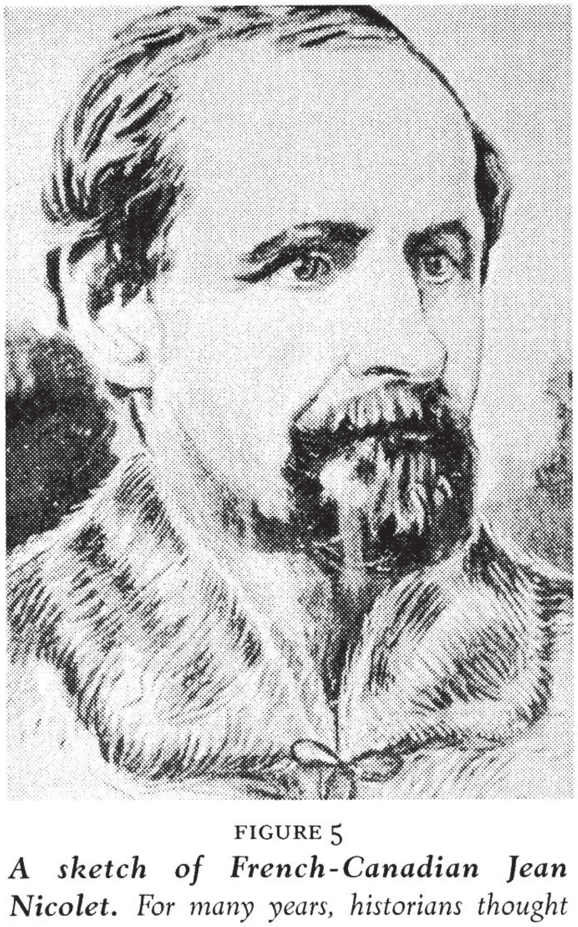


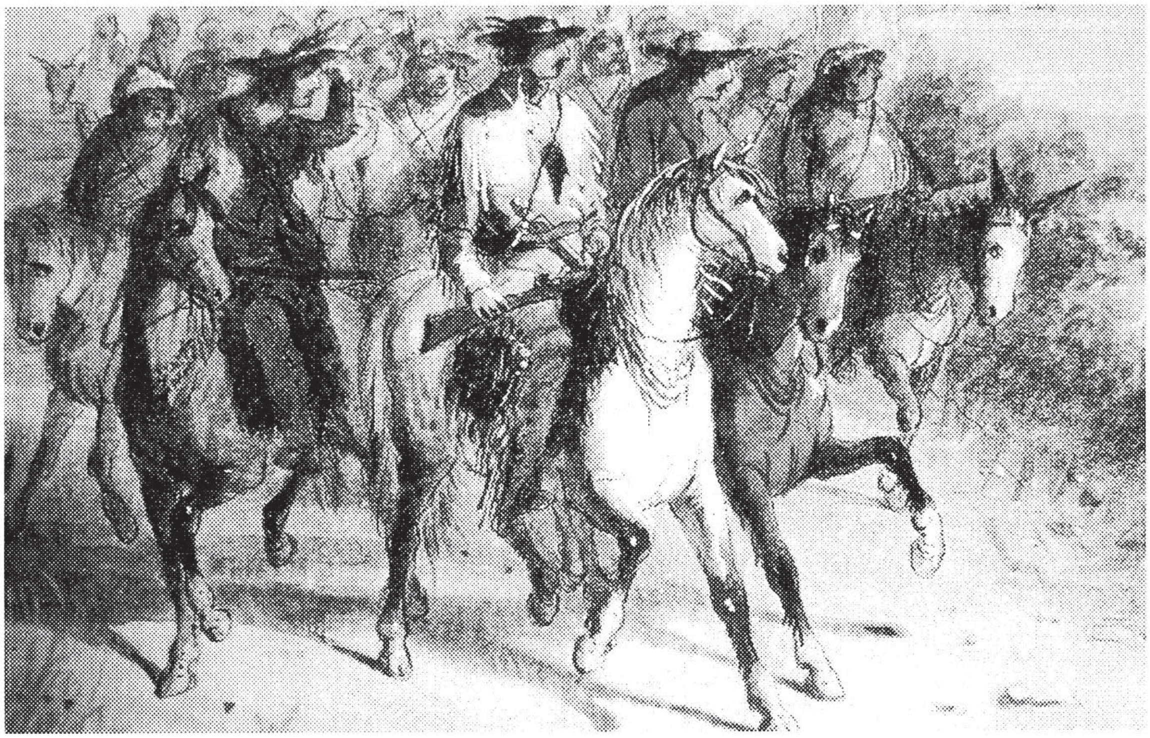
FIGURE 5

A sketch of French-Canadian Jean Nicolet. *For many years, historians thought this sketch portrayed Etienne Provost, Provo's namesake. However, Stella Drumm, an expert on the fur trade, has identified the sketch as a representation of Jean Nicolet.* COURTESY UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Thanks to artist Alfred Jacob Miller, we have a true likeness of Provost. In 1837, Sir William Drummond Stewart, a Scottish nobleman and adventurer, hired Miller to accompany him on a trip to the Rocky Mountains. Miller sketched and water-colored scenes representing trapper life and later created finished paintings in his studio. The artist created at least two likenesses of Provost.

One shows the trapper as a member of a group greeting a delegation of Indians, and the other shows him beside his tent with his hands cupped to his mouth yelling out the order to bring in the horses.

These paintings shatter preconceived images of Provost's appearance. He emerges much more portly and rotund than Nicolet's engraving. In notes written



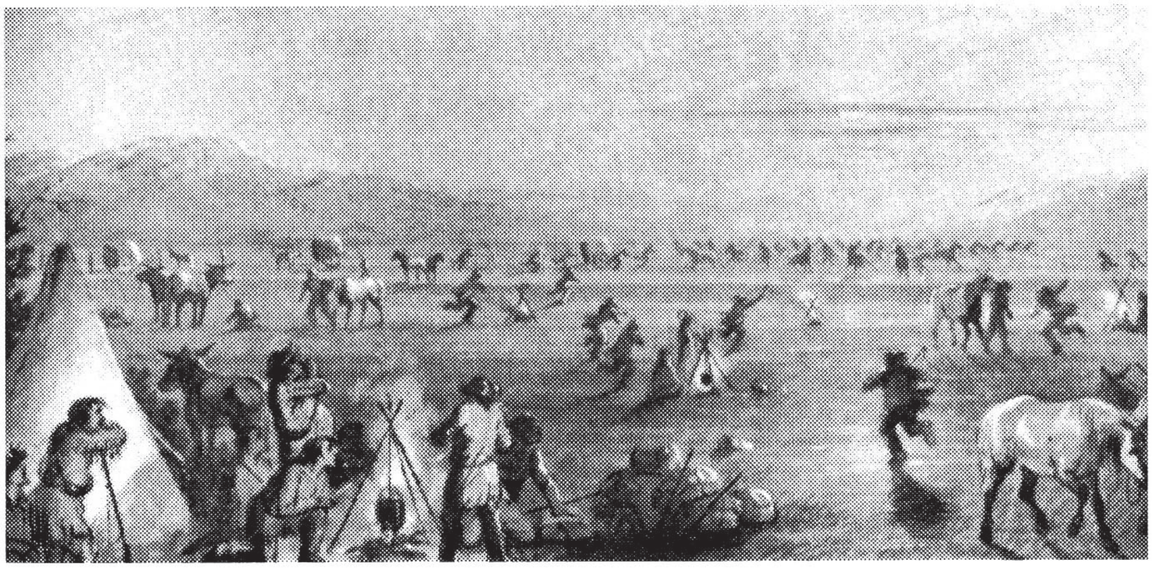


FIGURE 6 AND 7

Images of Etienne Provost. *These two water colors by Alfred Jacob Miller contain rare images of Etienne Provost. "Threatened Attack" (top) depicts Provost on the right riding a mule and Sir William Drummond Stewart in the center riding a white horse. "Catching Up" (bottom) shows Provost standing in front of a tepee with his hands cupped to his mouth issuing the call to bring in the horses.* ORIGINALS LOCATED IN THE WALTERS ART GALLERY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

on one of his water colors, Miller referred to Provost as "Monsieur Provoeau, a sub-leader, with a corpus round as a porpoise." In a note written on another work, Miller described Provost as "Mo'sieur P. adipose & rotonde—'larding the lean earth as he walks along.'"[44] Sir William characterized Provost as "a large heavy man, with a ruddy face." The Scot nicknamed Provo's namesake, "the burly Bacchus."[45] Since Bacchus is the ancient god of wine, this nickname seems to connote that Provost knew how to enjoy life in a way foreign to many current inhabitants of Utah Valley. Miller portrays Provost mounted on a lowly mule, not riding the noble white stallion we imagine he deserves.

Just how many other trappers and mountain men visited Utah Valley during the era of the fur trade is not known. Mistrust of the Utes may have kept the number of visitors small. Among the literate trappers, at least two recorded their activities in the valley. Jedediah Strong Smith passed through Utah Valley in 1826 and 1827 and Daniel T. Potts visited Utah Lake in 1827. Both left interesting references to the valley and the natives who inhabited it.

Smith, who was a partner in the newly formed fur company of Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, was exploring for new beaver streams in the area south and west of the Great Salt Lake. Traveling southward, he entered Utah Valley and stopped for two days at a Ute village located on a stream that may have been Provo River. On 22 August 1826, he sought to gain the goodwill of these Indians by presenting them with three yards of red ribbon, ten awls, one razor, one dirk knife, one brass-handled knife, forty musket balls and metal arrow points, and one-half pound of tobacco.[46]

When Smith's trappers arrived at the Indian village, the chief and some of the people were absent gathering serviceberries in the nearby mountains. Smith, who was anxious to talk to the Ute chief, got information on his whereabouts and journeyed into a canyon where he found the Ute encampment of about thirty-five lodges. On 27 August the two leaders concluded a treaty which allowed American trappers to hunt, trap, and pass through Ute territory unmolested. The chief also agreed to cease hostilities with the Shoshones until a treaty could be concluded in the near future. Then Smith's men promptly distributed more presents.[47]

The trapper cavalcade eventually worked its way southwestward to California, where the men wintered. When weather permitted, Smith and two others began an eastward trek across barren Nevada to Salt Lake Valley. From there they traveled northward and attended the rendezvous at Bear Lake in 1827.

After a brief rest, Smith led another group of men southward toward California. Again he passed through Utah Valley visiting the same band of Utes in a village on Provo River. Unfortunately, Smith failed to jot down a good description of the area surrounding Utah Lake.

Luckily, Daniel T. Potts, a trapper who visited this region in February of

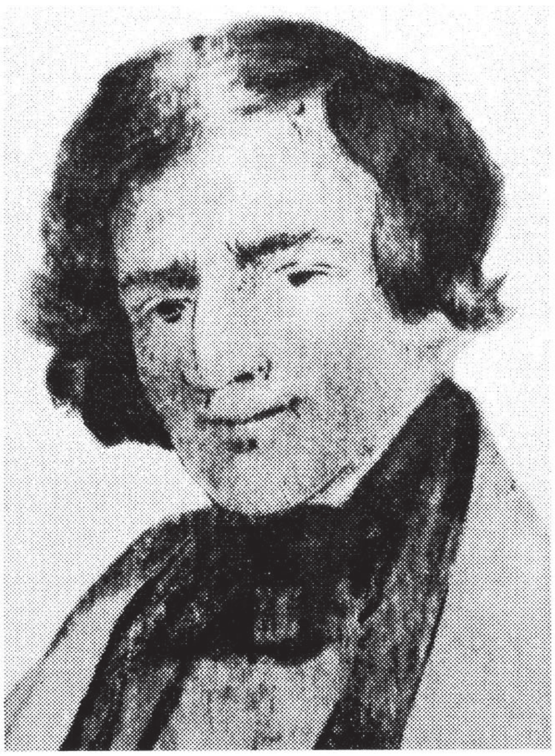


FIGURE 8

Jedediah Strong Smith, said to have been sketched by one of his friends from memory. *Smith was one of the few trappers to leave information about Utah Valley. In 1826 he traveled over the current site of Provo and in 1827 helped give Utah Lake its name.* COURTESY UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

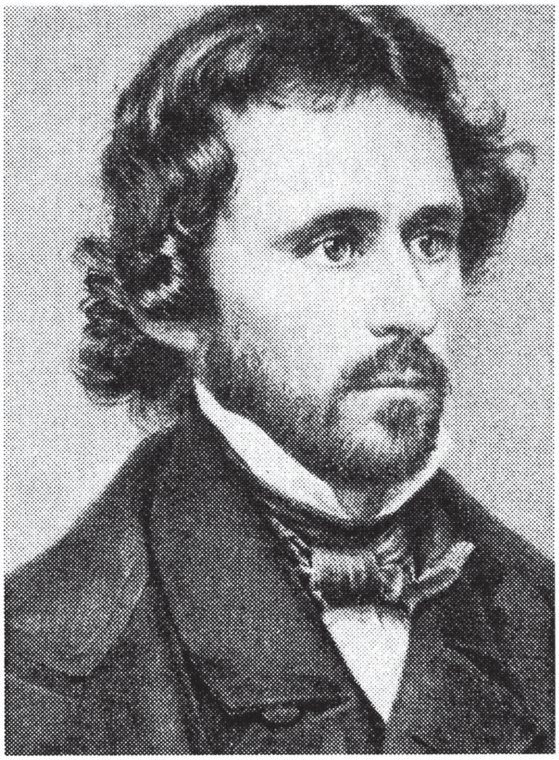


FIGURE 9

John C. Frémont, the "Great Pathfinder." *Frémont's encouraging descriptions of the eastern Great Basin helped influence Mormon emigrants to select the Wasatch Front as the site for their initial settlement.* COURTESY UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1827, left a brief pen picture of the valley. Potts viewed the expansive lake bordered on the east by snowy mountains. He wrote of the land:

> This is a most beautiful country. It is intersected by a number of transparent streams. The grass is at this time from six to twelve inches in height, and in full bloom. The snow that falls, seldom remains more than a week. It assists the grass in its growth, and appears adapted to the climate.[48]

The winter of 1826–27 was obviously a mild one.

Potts also left some insightful comments on the Utes he saw near the shores of Utah Lake. He found them living in bulrush habitations resembling muskrat houses. These structures, he said, were their principal homes "during the stay of the ice." Since this village was about three miles from any trees, the Indians burned bulrushes for fuel. The people who lived here were subsisting principally on the plentiful fish from the lake.[49]

Prior to 1827, the lake Smith and Potts visited was known by names such as "Timpanogos Lake" and "Ashley Lake," but from that year on, it was generally referred to as "Utah Lake" since a large number of Ute Indians inhabited the area around it. Both Potts and Smith mention the new name that had recently been given to the lake. In a letter dated 8 July 1827, Potts mentions "marches into the country by way of the Utaw Lake."[50] Smith wrote a letter 12 July 1827 to General William Clark, U.S. Superintendent of Indian affairs, in which the trapper speaks of passing "Little Uta Lake."[51]

Trappers like Smith and Potts enjoyed another decade of success before intensive trapping gradually reduced the number of beaver available in the West, and silk hats replaced beaver hats as a fashion statement. Consequently, the number of trappers in the mountains decreased, and by the early 1840s, the few mountain men who were left in the West began to change occupations in an effort to survive. Jim Bridger, Miles Goodyear, and others established forts near potential emigrant trails hoping to capitalize on the trading needs of people who were moving west. Other former trappers like Kit Carson, Joseph Walker, Thomas Fitzpatrick, and James Clyman obtained employment as guides for early emigrants, the army, and government exploring parties.

Carson, Fitzpatrick, and Walker all served as guides for government explorer John C. Frémont, "The Pathmarker." Like many of his contemporaries, Frémont believed it was America's destiny to stretch from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Coast. He hoped his maps and descriptions of habitable country would encourage Americans to settle in the West. His portrayals of fertile valleys in the Great Basin influenced Mormon leaders to choose the Wasatch Front as their destination in 1847.

The United States government sponsored five Frémont expeditions into the West. In 1844 and again in 1845, he visited Utah Valley. On his way back to the East from California in May 1844, Frémont and his men entered Utah Valley from the south via the Spanish Trail. As the explorers descended to the broad bottom lands of the valley, they were approached by three rifle-toting Utes on good horses. These scouts riding out from a village situated near the mouth of Spanish Fork River, induced Frémont and his crew to camp near them that night.[52]

The visitors found the Utes to be troublesome, so the next day they moved their camp away from this village and bivouacked several miles to the north above another Ute encampment. Frémont noted while moving camp that two dominant plants were in bloom in the valley. One was *convollaria stellata*, a plant used as medicine. The Utes called the other plant "kooyah." It was nutritious and provided them with an abundant supply of food, but its odor, which was similar to that of a urine-soaked bed, did not appeal to Preuss, the expedition's cartographer.[53] It is likely that many other men belonging to the expedition felt the same.

At this second village, Frémont bought a supply of fish which included numerous suckers and a few trout. At this time of the year, there were likely many Indians gathering in the valley in anticipation of the spawning season when fish moved out of the lake and up its tributary streams. On the morning of 27 May, Frémont left the valley by moving eastward up Spanish Fork Canyon.[54]

The government published Frémont's report of this expedition in 1845. In this publication, Frémont described Utah Lake as being almost entirely ringed by mountains. Those to the north and east loomed high and snow-covered in the month of May. From these mountains, rivers he called the "Timpan-ogo" (Provo), and the "Spanish Fork" and other streams, rushed to what he called "Utah Lake."[55]

Frémont offered this assessment of Utah Valley:

> In the cove of mountains along its eastern shore, the lake is bordered by a plain, where the soil is generally good, and in greater part fertile; watered by a delta of prettily timbered streams. This would be an excellent locality for stock farms; it is generally covered with good bunch grass, and would abundantly produce ordinary grains.[56]

Frémont also gave an encouraging report of the whole eastern part of the Great Basin. He wrote:

> In this eastern part of the Basin, containing Sevier, Utah, and the Great Salt Lakes, and the rivers and creeks falling into them, we know there is good soil and good grass, adapted to civilized settlements. . . . I can only say, in general and comparative terms, that, in the branch of agriculture which implies the cultivation of grains and staple crops, it would be inferior to the Atlantic States, though many parts are superior for wheat; while in the rearing of flocks and herds it would claim a high place. Its grazing capabilities are great; and even in the indigenous grass now there, an element of individual and national wealth may be found.[57]

Frémont traversed the Great Basin again in 1845. This year he entered from the east, traveling down Provo River and passing through Provo Canyon into Utah Valley. After spending some time in this area, he explored the Jordan River to the Great Salt Lake. At last he understood how Utah Lake could contain fresh water and Great Salt Lake be impregnated with salt. Utah Lake's elevation was higher than that of the Great Salt Lake, and the Jordan River flowed from the freshwater lake into the salty one. From the Great Salt Lake he turned westward, struggled across the Salt Flats, and trudged on to California.[58] Unfortunately, he did not write an official report covering this 1845 expedition, and he left little written information concerning the future site of Provo and Utah Valley.

It is amazing that during the nearly seventy years between the Domínguez-Escalante journey and Frémont's government explorations, there was so little written about Utah Valley and the people who inhabited the plain east of the lake. Hundreds of Euro-Americans traversed the area, but they seem to have left a total of only several paragraphs describing their observations. The amount of available information concerning the valley rapidly increased, however, when Brigham Young and a dedicated vanguard of settlers arrived in the Great Basin in 1847.

Endnotes

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9. Joel C. Janetski, *The Ute of Utah Lake,* University of Utah Anthropological Papers, No. 116 (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press 1991), 17.

10. Janetski, "Utah Lake," 16–17.

11. Ibid., 17–20.

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15. Madsen, "The Frémont," 205.

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17. The summary of the seasonal food-seeking round of the Timpanogots Utes is based on Janetski, *The Ute of Utah Lake,* 40.

18. Summary of how Timpanogots Utes caught and cooked fish based on Janetski, *The Ute of Utah Lake,* 37.

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35. The original account of Provost's experience with Mauvais Gauche comes from Warren Angus Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains 1830–1835*, arranged by Herbert S. Auerbach and annotated by J. Cecil Alter (Salt Lake City: Rocky Mountain Book Shop, 1940), 248.

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38. Fred R. Gowans, *A Fur Trade History of Yellowstone Park* (Orem, Utah: Mountain Grizzly Publications, 1989), Map 13.

39. Thomas Bullock, *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints: The 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock*, ed. Will Bagley (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1997), 263.

40. Levi Jackman, Journal, 19 April 1848, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter Perry Special Collections). This is the earliest firsthand pioneer account I have been able to locate where the river is referred to as the "Provo." The account was written almost a year before the initial settlement in Utah Valley was founded. Jackman wrote. "We found the most of the Eutaw valley as far up as ~~Spanish fork~~ Provo [to] be rather barron."

41. Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Journal History scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings chronicling LDS history from 1830 to

the present), 21 January 1850, 1 (hereafter cited as Journal History). Parley P. Pratt's journal for 21 January 1850 is quoted in this entry. He was a member of the Southern Exploring Expedition when he wrote, "We held a council, and finding that our provisions would only sustain half of our company till spring, and travelling [*sic*] with the wagons was impossible, we decided upon leaving half the company to winter there with the wagons and cattle, and the other half, with some of the strongest mules and horses, should attempt to reach Provo—the southern frontier—distance upwards of one hundred miles."

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43. Morgan, *Provo Pioneer Mormon City*, 193–94, n 46.

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48. Donald McKay Frost, *Notes on General Ashley the Overland Trail and South Pass* (Barre, Mass.: Barre Gazette, 1960), 62–63.

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50. Ibid.

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52. John C. Frémont, *The Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains* (Washington, D.C. and London, Eng.: Smithsonian Institution, 1988), 273.

53. Stanley L. Welsh, *John Charles Frémont Botanical Explorer*, ed. Marshal R. Crosby, Monographs in Systematic Botany, Missouri Botanical Garden 66 (St. Louis, Mo.: Missouri Botanical Garden, 1998), 299. The common name for this plant is tobacco root.

54. Frémont, *The Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, 273, 277.

55. Ibid., 273.

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CHAPTER 2

Almost the Right Place

TRAPPERS, TRADERS, AND EXPLORERS CONTENTED THEMselves with passing through the Timpanogots' land in Utah Valley, but in their wake came others who wanted to possess the land for themselves and build settlements. Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the "Mormons," were the first group of people from the United States to consider occupying the place that would one day be called Provo.

Years before their expulsion from Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1846, Mormon leaders considered a move westward that would distance them from their enemies. Articles in church sponsored newspapers reflected this interest. As early as 1832, the *Evening and Morning Star,* a Mormon newspaper published in Independence, Missouri, printed accounts of western explorations.[1] In 1842, Mormon leader Joseph Smith talked about his followers becoming a great people in the Rocky Mountains.[2] Nauvoo's newspapers often disseminated the latest information concerning land in the West which lay beyond organized United States territory. Between May 1843 and October 1845, the *Nauvoo Neighbor* published no less than fifty articles dealing with the West. Articles printed in 1845 included a review of Lansford W. Hastings' new book, *Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California,* and a full page account covering the experiences in Salt Lake Valley of John C. Frémont, a United States government explorer.[3]

Joseph Smith's untimely death in 1842 prevented the implementation of whatever plan he may have formulated for westward migration. Thus, the responsibility of resettling the Mormon people somewhere in the West fell upon the church's Twelve Apostles and other important officials. They soon began the process of site selection in earnest with Utah Valley being one of the sites eventually considered. Groups met and studied the government report and map produced as a result of Frémont's 1842 exploring expedition through South Pass and as far west as the Wind River Mountains of Wyoming. In August 1845, the Mormons acquired the report of Frémont's 1843–44 expedition.[4] This account contained information about the Great Basin and California. Apparently, the Mormon leaders wasted no time in reading this report. As their choices narrowed, the Great Basin, California, Oregon, and Vancouver Island emerged as favorite possible sites for settlement.

In late August, after church leaders had studied Frémont's latest report, Brigham Young seemed to favor the Great Basin as a place to make a home for his people. In a letter to Addison Pratt, who was serving a mission in the Hawaiian Islands, Young wrote:

> If any of the brethren of the islands wish to emigrate to the continent have them come to the mouth of Columbia river in Oregon, or the Gulph [sic] of Monterey, or St. Francisco, as we shall commence forming a settlement in that region during next season and make arrangements with agents in each of those places so emigrants will be enabled to get all necessary directions, and provisions for going to the settlements. the [sic] settlement will probably be in the neighborhood of Lake Tampanagos [Timpanogos] as that is represented as a most delightful district and no settlement near there.[5]

The name Lake Timpanogos may have referred to either Great Salt Lake or Utah Lake. At one time or another, each of those bodies of water appeared on various early maps labeled with the name Timpanogos. Cartographers sometimes even depicted them on maps as being one big connected lake with the name Timpanogos.

After his 1843–44 expedition, John C. Frémont knew Utah Lake and Great Salt Lake were connected, but he wasn't exactly sure how. However, he called each lake by its current name, and he seems to represent the area around Utah Lake as being the more "delightful district."

Letters written in November 1845 by William Clayton and by Newell K. Whitney indicate that the decision to leave Nauvoo had definitely been made by that time. Although the Mormons planned to leave, no definite determination had been made as to where they were going, even at that late date. Clayton wrote that it was a certainty that they must leave their abodes and the fruits of their "hard labors, and seek a home in the wilderness [The Great Basin] or Vancouvers Island Next spring."[6] Whitney offered the following information: "As to the particular point of our destination we have not yet concluded, as we have a number of places in view, we shall probably cross the mountains but shall conclude on that hereafter."[7]

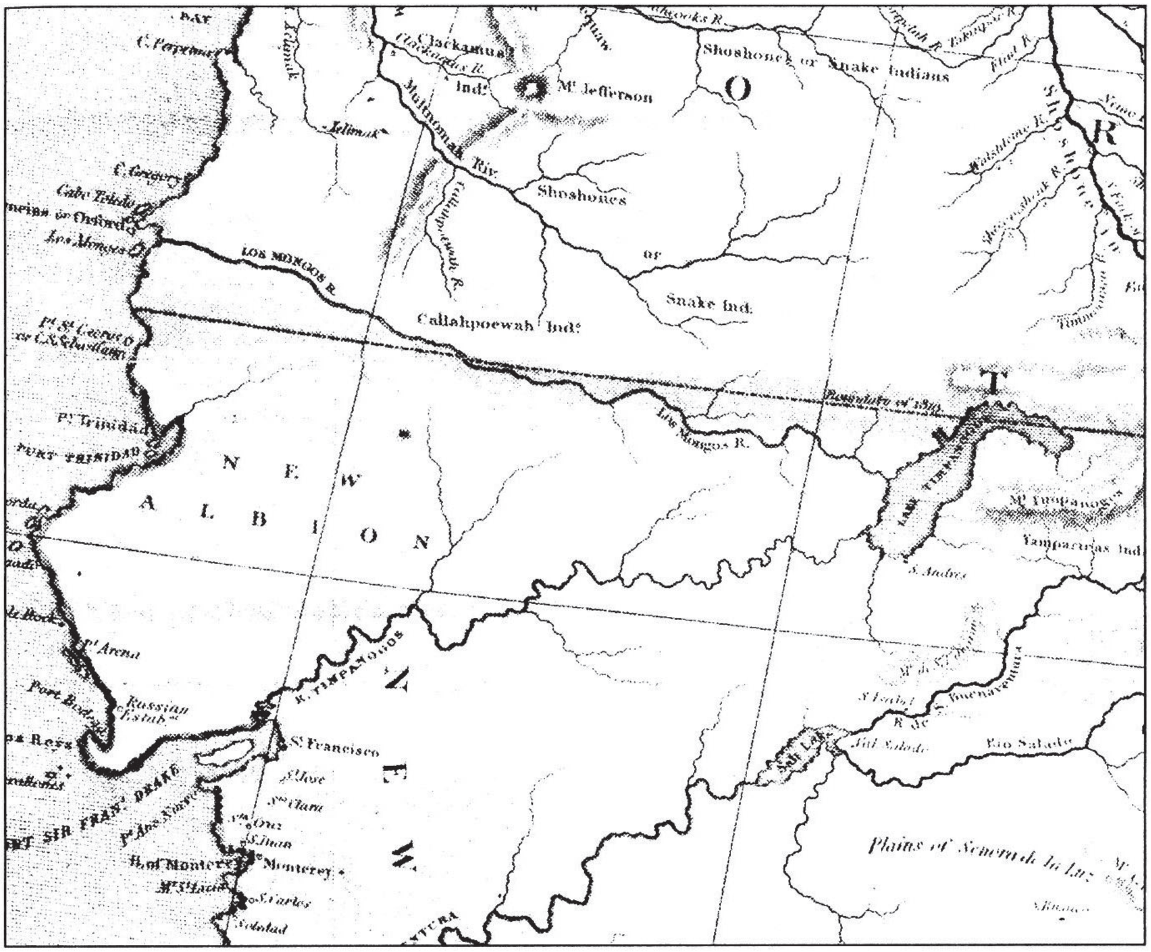

FIGURE 10

Henry S. Tanner's map of the American West *(1823). This map depicts the Great Salt Lake and Utah Lake as one large body of water that is labeled Lake Timpanogos. Two substantial rivers flow from this lake to the Pacific Ocean, but only four small streams flow into the lake. These geographical misconceptions lingered into the 1850s.* COURTESY HAROLD B. LEE LIBRARY, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY.

Even as the first groups left Nauvoo in February of 1846 and ferried to the west bank of the Mississippi River, rank and file members, as well as their leaders, were still uncertain about their eventual destination. Years later, Brigham Young himself admitted to a congregation that the first groups crossed the river "not knowing at the time, whither we were going."[8]

Early in March the church hierarchy finally reached a decision. At Sugar Creek Camp on 8 March 1846, Willard Richards recorded:

> at 9 ½ [o'clock] [Brigham] Young[,] [Heber C.] Kimball[,] [George A.] Smith[,] [Amasa] Lyman & [Willard] Richards assembled in council. . . . Prest Young said . . . we must divide among the camp so that a part might cross the mountains to the great bason soon enough to plant this spring. - that we must ascertain how many men can go forward from the camp . . . so as to travel with all speed.[9]

Because of the destitution and scattered condition of their followers, and with time for safely settling a colony in the west that year running out, Mormon leaders soon decided against sending a vanguard company in 1846. However, they held to their decision to settle in the Great Basin. The Mormons then took up winter quarters along the Missouri River and awaited a better opportunity to move west.

Apparently, information contained in Frémont's report of 1843–44 was the main factor that tipped the scales in favor of the Great Basin. Years later in 1877, Eli Perkins interviewed Brigham Young and submitted a letter based on this discussion to the editor of the *New York Times*. In this interview, Perkins asked Young what influenced the Mormons to come to Utah. Young replied, "Well, from Frémont's reports, we determined to get our wagons together, form a grand caravan and travel through the country to the Salt lake, 1000 miles from any civilized settlement."[10]

The quandary of exactly where to place the initial colony in the Great Basin remained unresolved, although the leaders seemed to favor Salt Lake Valley or Bear River Valley.[11] During their winter stopover on the banks of the Missouri River, in 1846–47, the future pioneers of Utah again studied the report of Frémont's exploration of 1843–44 and Lansford W. Hastings' *Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California*, paying particular attention to the descriptions of the Great Basin. They also gathered all available maps of the West and sought information from former trappers and other travelers who had seen the area near Great Salt Lake.

Catholic Father Pierre DeSmet visited the Mormon camp in 1846 and discussed with the future settlers his adventures in the West. He gave a good account of what was apparently the upper portion of the Bear River Valley in what is now southeastern Idaho.[12]

In April, as the pioneer company of 148 members led by Brigham Young began the trek West, the memory of DeSmet's description of the Upper Bear River Valley and Frémont's account of the Lower Bear River Valley near the northern shores of Great Salt Lake in today's Weber and Box Elder Counties seem to have been foremost in the emigrants' minds. An entry from Levi Jackman's journal demonstrates this interest and hints at the potential location of a settlement. As the pioneer company members under the direction of Brigham Young camped near Elk Horn River on 10 April 1847, Jackman wrote, "This place is in latitude 41–46 north and 1,300 miles from the mouth of Bear River where it empties into Salt lake, according to Frémont's account."[13]

A month later on Sunday, 9 May, the company neared the forks of Platte River in present-day central Nebraska. Orson Pratt addressed a camp meeting that day and urged the company to speed up the journey. Norton Jacob's journal entry concerning this meeting indicated Bear River Valley was still considered the company's primary destination. Jacob journalized, "Brother Pratt said that some had supposed we should be able to get over into Bear River valley in time to put in spring crops, but he had not thought so. . . . If we do not get there [in] time enough to return next fall, we must winter there and make the best of it."[14]

As the journey continued, members of the company visited Fort Laramie on 4 June. While there, they talked to men who had been in the Great Basin. Heber C. Kimball wrote:

> Learned from the men who have been over the mountains that the Bear River Valley is a good country, well watered, plenty of timber, good grass, light winters, very little snow, and abundance of fish in the streams, especially spotted trout. There are also plenty of antelope, elk, and deer, but no buffalo."[15]

The area around Great Salt Lake and Utah Lake was also discussed. Wilford Woodruff conversed with a mountaineer who had wintered near these lakes. The trapper highly recommended that area as a healthy, fertile country.[16]

Five wagons belonging to Mormon emigrants from Mississippi who had wintered near present-day Pueblo, Colorado, joined the pioneer company just west of Fort Laramie. Mountaineer Lewis B. Myers accompanied the newcomers as their guide and hunter. He knew the way through South Pass, so the pioneer

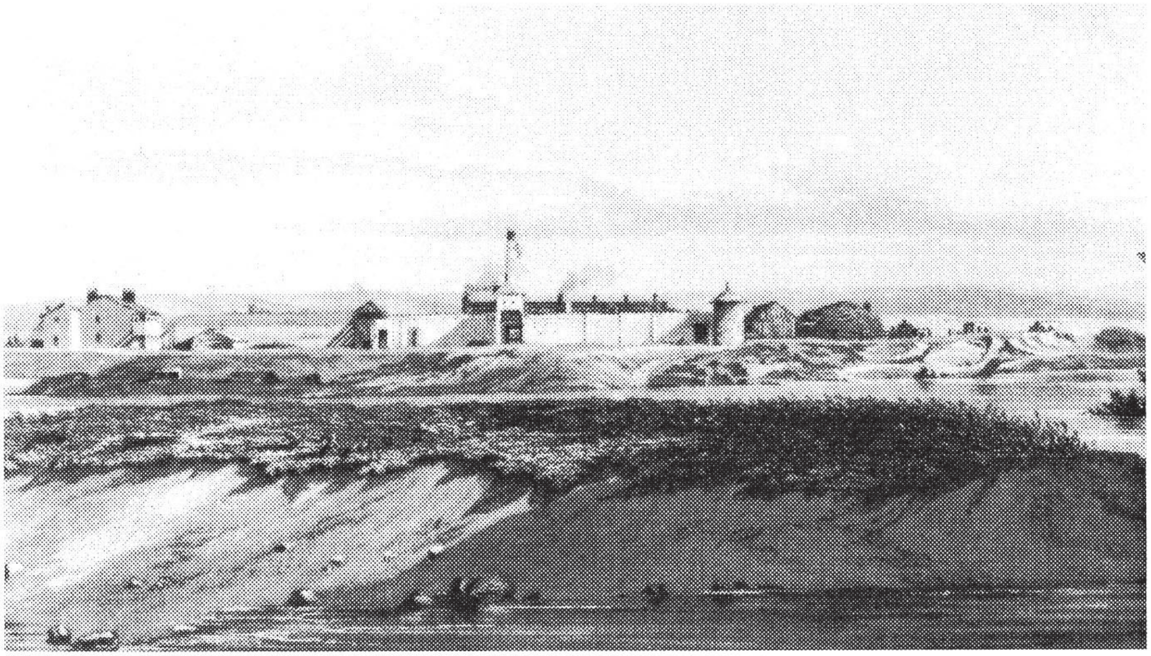

FIGURE II

Fort Laramie as it appeared in 1853. *While camped near the fort, members of the Brigham Young Company received positive information about Bear River Valley, Salt Lake Valley, and Utah Valley from mountaineers who had visited those areas.* FREDERICK PIERCY, ROUTE FROM LIVERPOOL TO GREAT SALT LAKE VALLEY.

company now had a pilot.

It appears that in early June, after the pioneers left Fort Laramie, Mormon leaders began to seriously consider Utah Valley as a site for the first settlement in the Great Basin. On 8, 9, and 10 June, the emigrants talked with James H. Grieves and other traders traveling eastward along the trail. From these conversations, the pioneers learned, among other things, that these traders considered the "Utah country [Utah Valley] a beautiful country,"[17] and that a man was already farming in what they called Bear River Valley.[18] The man referred to was likely Miles Goodyear, who had established Fort Buenaventura on the Weber River near present-day Ogden. Influenced by these favorable reports about the land near Great Salt Lake and Utah Lake, and seemingly concerned about news that there was already a settlement on the northeastern shores of the Great Salt Lake, the focus of the pioneer leaders began to shift away from the Lower Bear River Valley and the northeastern side of the lake. They looked instead southward toward Utah Lake and the area bordering the southeastern shores of Great Salt Lake.

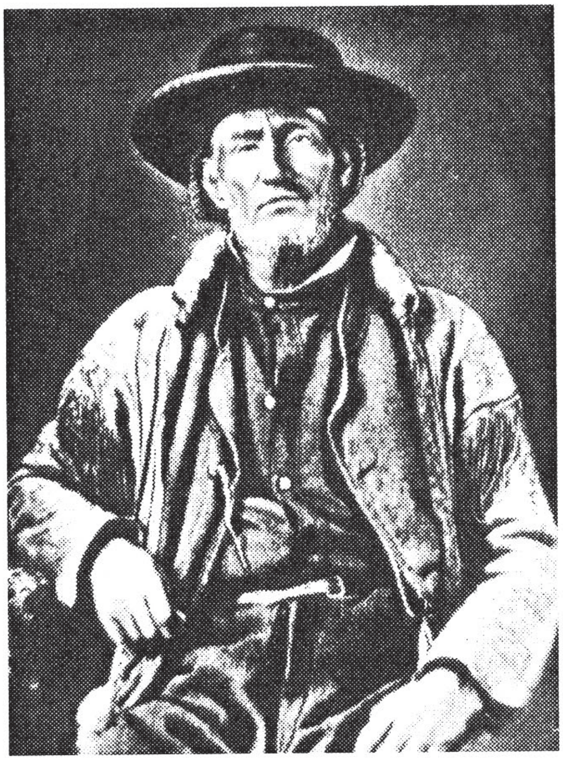

FIGURE 12

Famous mountain man Jim Bridger. *Bridger gave Mormon pioneers favorable information about the country near Utah Lake but warned them that the Utes in that vicinity were "a bad people."* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

Shortly after crossing South Pass, the pioneer company met former trapper Moses "Black" Harris, who traveled with them for two days and provided them with discouraging information about Salt Lake Valley. He was "rather unfavorable to the formation of a colony in this basin, principally on account of the scarsity of timber,"[19] wrote Mormon apostle Orson Pratt. Harris recommended Cache Valley as a better location for a permanent settlement.

The home seekers left "Black" Harris on the morning of 28 June. That afternoon near the Little Sandy River, they met the famed trapper and explorer Jim Bridger, otherwise known as "Old Gabe." This mountain man turned storekeeper, who ran a trading post in what is now southwestern Wyoming, camped with the pioneers that night, sharing with them his knowledge of the Great Basin. The future colonists considered his stories exaggerated and his descriptions useful but confusing because he presented them in a rather unintelligible manner.[20] Bridger did point out that frost in the Great Basin posed a problem for the potential agriculturalists. However, the overall opinion he gave of the Great Basin was more favorable than that expressed by "Black" Harris.

The pioneers may have asked Bridger specifically about Utah Valley, or he may have simply volunteered information about the valley. Whichever the case, he seemed especially enamored with the area around Utah Lake, imparting little information about Bear River and Salt Lake Valleys but emphasizing several of Utah Valley's desirable qualities. In fact, Norton Jacob wrote of the interview with Bridger, "The information obtained concerning the Utah [Valley] country is very encouraging."[21]

Concerning Utah Valley, Bridger told the anxiously listening emigrants that the low-banked and muddy Jordan River served as the outlet of Utah Lake and was neither very large nor very swift. Blue grass and both red and white clover abundantly grew in the good soil on both sides of the stream. Bridger estimated Utah Lake to be fifteen miles long. He recalled no timber on its shores, but said the streams running into it were timbered, and trees grew on the mountains east of the lake.

Bridger described the fertile plain stretching from the lake to the mountains. He said plenty of wild flax and good grass in abundant meadows vegetated the valley. Only a little sage grew there in small patches. "Old Gabe" had noticed no grapes growing in the valley, but he stated that the pioneers could gather immense quantities of choke cherries and other wild berries in that area. He also noted that there were plenty of acorns to feed the hogs.[22] Bridger offered his opinion that the valley surrounding Utah Lake was "the best country in the vicinity of the Salt Lake."[23]

However, according to Thomas Bullock, Bridger also extended the following words of caution concerning Utah Valley: "In the Ute Land you must not stick a Stake. All they are fit for is Slaves—there are 10 Indians on the West side of the mountains, to 1 on the East side."[24] He labeled the Timpanogots Utes, who he claimed were mostly armed with guns, "a bad people." In Bridger's opinion, parties of men in Timpanogots territory were in no danger, but if the Utes caught a man alone, they would almost certainly rob, strip, and abuse him—if they did not kill him.[25]

With this new information fresh in their minds, the pioneer company said farewell to Bridger on 29 June and started for the Green River. They arrived there the next day and were joined by Samuel Brannan, who had traveled east from California to meet them. Brannan had taken a company of Mormons by ship to the San Francisco Bay area and had established a settlement there. He tried to persuade Brigham Young to return with him to the Pacific Coast, but the Mormon leader held fast to his decision to settle somewhere in the Great Basin.

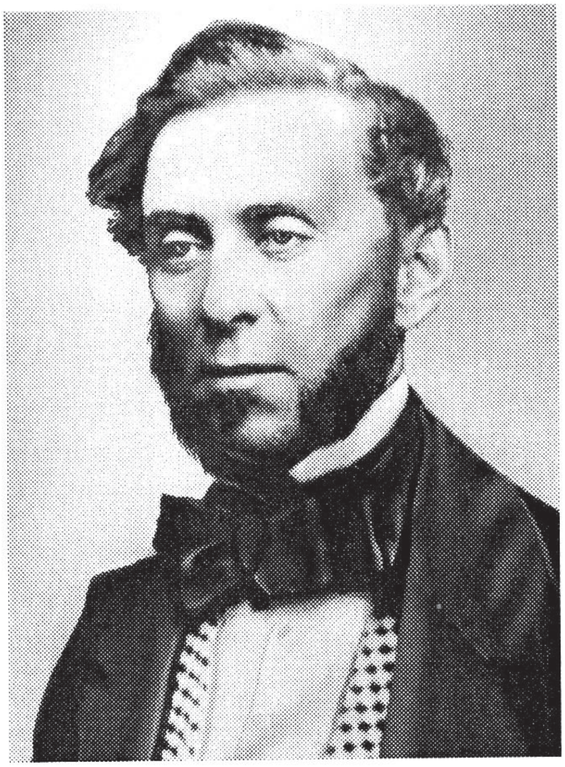

FIGURE 13

Samuel Brannan met Brigham Young's company at Green River. *Leading a group of seafaring Mormons from New York to the San Francisco Bay area on the ship* Brooklyn, *he traveled eastward until he met the pioneers and unsuccessfully tried to convince Brigham Young to settle in California.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

After pushing on to Fort Bridger, Jim Bridger's trading post, the pioneers spent two nights there resting and making repairs. Then, on 9 July, the Mormons drove their wagons westward again along the faint trail left by the Donner Party and the other companies who had traveled that route in 1846. Erastus Snow wrote that the trail led "in the direction of the southern extremity of the Salt Lake, which is the region we wish to explore."[26]

Near the Bear River the next day, the pioneer company met yet another trader, Miles Goodyear, who was accompanying John Craig and other men who were returning to the states from California. Goodyear gave the pioneers a very favorable report on the area east of the Great Salt Lake. He told them that, near the Weber River, he had "a garden planted with all kinds of vegetables."[27] At this point in their journey, the Mormons apparently still remained undecided on the exact location for their initial settlement site, and Utah Lake was still being considered. The Mormons informed their visitors that they intended to establish colonies around Great Salt Lake "and the Uataw Lake[,] intending to Sow a large quantity of wheat."[28]

On 12 July, the day after leaving Goodyear and Craig, illness caused the fragmentation of the pioneer company. After crossing Bear River and moving a short distance beyond it, Brigham Young sickened with mountain fever and was too ill to travel. A number of others also suffered from the illness, and eight wagons stayed behind to care for those who were ailing. The main party camped several miles farther down the trail.

The next day, Heber C. Kimball assigned Orson Pratt and forty-two men to move ahead of the main party and improve the trail into Salt Lake Valley. Now the pioneer company was split into three divisions: Pratt's advance company, the main company, and the eight wagons in the rear that sheltered Brigham Young and others who were ill. The company remained fragmented into two or three segments and was slowed by illness for the remainder of the journey to the Basin.

Toward the end of the trek, Utah Valley still remained in contention to be the site for the initial settlement. It was somewhere along this last difficult stretch of the trail that the Mormon leaders decided to tentatively establish the first settlement in the northern end of Salt Lake Valley rather than risk disturbing the volatile Utes in Utah Valley. During a Sunday meeting held 18 July on a site just east of present-day Hennifer, Utah, Heber C. Kimball proposed that the main group move forward rapidly, overtake the advance party, find a suitable place in Salt Lake Valley, and plant crops. The next morning, the main group, led by Willard Richards and George A. Smith, left Brigham Young and the others who were too ill to travel, and moved forward as briskly as they could through the difficult terrain. On this day, 19 July, two members of the advance company, Orson Pratt and John Brown, climbed Big Mountain and saw Salt Lake Valley for the first time.

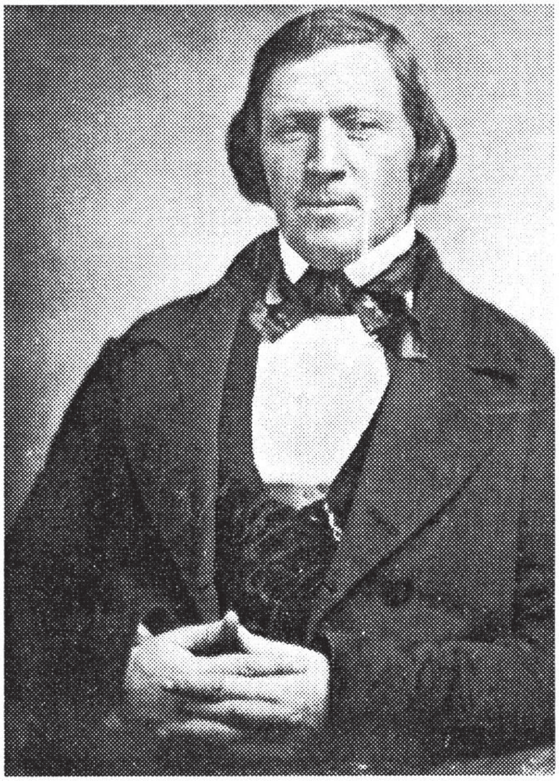

FIGURE 14

Brigham Young led the first Mormon company that traveled to the Great Basin. *An untimely illness prevented him from entering the Salt Lake Valley with the main body of pioneers. The main company entered on 22 July; he entered on 24 July.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

On 20 July, the main company camped where Orson Pratt and the advance company had stayed the night before. At this campsite, the group found a note left by Pratt describing the road and the country ahead.

The next morning, Willard Richards dictated to Thomas Bullock a letter of instruction to be sent ahead to Orson Pratt. Richards and George A. Smith signed the message, and Erastus Snow set off to deliver it.[29] This letter expressed the wishes of Brigham Young concerning the site where Pratt's advance company should stop and select a place to plant crops. The missive said, in part:

> Prest. Young gave us his views concerning a stopping place in the basin, by saying, that he felt inclined for the present not to crowd upon the Utes until we have a chance to get acquainted with them and that it would be better to bear toward the region of the Salt Lake rather than the Utah [Valley], & find some good place for our seeds & deposit them as speedily as possible, regardless of a future location."[30]

To make sure he was not misunderstood, Richards emphasized Young's views later in the letter and added a slightly more detailed explanation. This section of the communication reads:

> The time for planting is fully come, & we feel anxious to make every move that would facilitate the Potatoe crop, it matters not where it is—The Prest. thinks the Utes may feel a little tenacious about their choice lands on the Utah, [and] we had better keep further north towards the Salt Lake, which is more of a Warlike or neutral ground, & by so doing we should be less likely to be disturbed & also have a chance to form an acquaintance with the Utah; & having done our planting shall select a sight for a location at our leisure.[31]

These instructions suggest that the lateness of the season and the presence of the Timpanogots Utes near Utah Lake are two of the main factors that influenced the pioneers to plant their crops in Salt Lake Valley instead of Utah Valley.

Erastus Snow delivered the message to Orson Pratt on 21 July. Later that day, Snow and Pratt became the first Mormon men to enter Salt Lake Valley in 1847. The two men explored a twelve-mile loop through the valley and returned to make camp that evening with the advance company. On 22 July, Pratt led the company into the valley and they began plowing and irrigating.

Brigham Young glimpsed Salt Lake Valley for the first time on 23 July. Still feeling the effects of mountain fever, Young traveled on a bed in the back of Wilford Woodruff's carriage. After the vehicle reached the summit of Big Mountain, Young directed Woodruff to turn the carriage around so he could view the valley. Woodruff maneuvered the conveyance so that Young could gaze out over the land that was to become their home. Many years later, Mormon memories recalled that Young said, "This is the right place. Drive on." The next day Young entered the valley.[32]

On 28 July, after the settlers had explored the vicinity for several days, Brigham Young called them together to ascertain whether they were satisfied with Salt Lake Valley as the site on which to establish their initial settlement. After some conversation, one of the pioneers voiced a motion to locate there. Norton Jacob seconded the motion and remarked, "If we went up South to the Utah Lake the country was occupied by Indians while here [Salt Lake Valley] it was unoccupied."[33] Erastus Snow then added what he felt were two more reasons for staying in Salt Lake Valley: first, the Lord led them there, and second, the men of the pioneer company were universally satisfied with the valley.[34] Thus it was that Utah Valley became *Almost* the Right Place.

Endnotes

1. Lewis Clark Christian, "A Study of the Mormon Westward Migration Between February 1846 and July 1847, With Emphasis on and Evaluation of the Factors That Led to the Mormons' Choice of Salt Lake Valley as the Site of Their Initial Colony" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1976), 22.

2. Lewis Clark Christian, "A Study of Mormon Knowledge of the American Far West Prior to the Exodus, 1830–February, 1846" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972), 186.

3. William James Snow, "Exploration and Development of the Great Basin Before the Coming of the Mormons" (master's thesis, University of California, 1922), 143–44.

4. Ibid., 143.

5. Brigham Young to Addison Pratt, 28 August 1845, Brigham Young Office Files, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

6. William Clayton to Hugh Rhodes, 1 November 1845, typescript, Brigham Young Letter Book, Brigham Young Office Files, typescript, LDS Church Archives. In many letters of this time period, the Great Basin is referred to as the "wilderness."

7. Newell K. Whitney to S.S. Chester, 24 November 1845, Brigham Young Letter Book, Brigham Young Office Files, LDS Church Archives.

8. Brigham Young, 14 February 1853, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: F.D. and S.W. Richards, 1854) 1:279.

9. Willard Richards, Journal, 8 March 1846, LDS Church Archives.

10. John C. Frémont to the Editor of *New York Times*, 2 June 1877, as quoted in John C. Frémont, *Memoirs of My Life, Including in the Narrative Five Journeys of Western Exploration, During the Years 1842, 1843–44, 1845–6–7, 1848–9, 1853–4* (Chicago and New York: Belford, Clarke & Company, 1887), 415–16.

11. Christian, "A Study of the Mormon Westward Migration," 34, 71.

12. Snow, "Exploration and Development of the Great Basin Before the Coming of the Mormons," 149.

13. Levi Jackman, Journal, 10 April 1847, as quoted in *An Enduring Legacy*, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers), 9:200.

14. Norton Jacob, Journal, 6 May 1847, as quoted in Norton Jacob, *The Record of Norton Jacob*, eds. C. Edward Jacob and Ruth S. Jacob (Norton Jacob Family Association, 1953), 45 (hereafter cited as Jacob, Journal).

15. Heber C. Kimball, Journal, 4 June 1847, as quoted in "The Pioneer Journal of Heber C. Kimball," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 31 (April 1940): 24 (hereafter cited as Kimball, Journal).

16. Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898*, typescript, ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–85), 3:195, 4 June 1847.

17. Thomas Bullock, Journal, 8 June 1847, as quoted in Thomas Bullock, *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints: The 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock*, ed. Will Bagley (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 1997), 186 (hereafter cited as Bullock, Journal).

18. Kimball, Journal, 10 June 1847.

19. Orson Pratt, Journal, 26 June 1847, LDS Church Archives.

20. William Clayton, Journal, 28 June 1847, as quoted in William Clayton, *William Clayton's Journal: A Daily Record of the Journey of the Original Company of "Mormon" Pioneers from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press,

1921), 274 (hereafter cited as Clayton, Journal); Christian, "A Study of the Mormon Westward Migration," 213.

21. Jacob, Journal, 28 June 1847, 64.

22. Clayton, Journal, 28 June 1847; Kimball, Journal, 28 June 1847; Bullock, Journal, 28 June 1847.

23. Clayton, Journal, 28 June 1847.

24. Bullock, Journal, 28 June 1847.

25. Clayton, Journal, 28 June 1847; Bullock, Journal, 28 June 1847.

26. Erastus Snow, Journal, 9 July 1847, as quoted in "From Nauvoo to Salt Lake in the Van of the Pioneers," *Improvement Era* 15 (January 1912): 249 (hereafter cited as Snow, Journal).

27. Bullock, Journal, 11 July 1847.

28. John Craig to George Boosinger, 4 October 1847, as quoted in Dale Morgan, ed., *Overland in 1846: Diaries and Letters of the California–Oregon Trail* (Lincoln, Neb. and London, Eng.: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 141–42.

29. Snow, Journal, 20 July 1847; Bullock, Journal, 21 July 1847.

30. Willard Richards to Orson Pratt, 21 July 1847, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

31. Ibid.

32. Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion, The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–1869* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 5–6; Ellsworth, *Utah's Heritage,* 147.

33. Norton Jacob, Reminiscence and Journal, 28 July 1847, LDS Church Archives.

34. Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

Mormon Exploration of Utah Valley

ALTHOUGH UTAH VALLEY WAS NOT SELECTED AS THE SITE for the initial Mormon settlement in the Great Basin, this desirable vale was too valuable a potential resource to be ignored. The land along the lower stretches of the Provo River contained everything desirable for a settlement site. Abundant grass and fertile soil beckoned ranchers and farmers. Timber along the river and in the surrounding canyons promised building material and fuel. Utah Lake, Provo River, smaller streams, and clear springs offered fish for food and water for power, irrigation, and culinary purposes.

However, because of the presence of the Timpanogots Utes in Utah Valley and their territoriality over fish, game, and other food resources, the valley initially became an area for the pioneers to pass through or visit rather than to settle. For almost two years after the Mormons entered the Great Basin, explorers investigated the terrain, and fishermen periodically paid short visits to the lake. Then the visitors returned to their homes in Salt Lake Valley without delay. During those years, travelers passed through Utah Valley as they made their way to or from California on what became known as the "Southern Route." Mormon traders stayed in the valley only briefly or passed through it on their way to Indian villages farther south. Armed Mormon disciplinary forces chastised cattle thieves among the Utes and without delay headed back north out of harm's way. Consequently, the pioneers were well acquainted with Utah Valley and the future site of Provo long before Fort Utah was established.

Soon after the majority of the first company arrived in the Great Basin, some of the men began to explore Salt Lake Valley and the surrounding area. On

23 July, Lewis B. Myers, the non-Mormon former mountain man, and William Crow gathered some pack horses and set off on a hunt to provide meat for the under-provisioned Crow family. The two men headed south up the valley and intended to be gone a month or so, but they were forced to return two days later after one of their pack horses strayed. The hunters brought in a single deer on the afternoon of Sunday, 25 July. (Ironically, they arrived in the pioneer camp shortly after Heber C. Kimball finished a sermon in which he admonished the brethren, "If you wish to go hunting, fishing, or see the country select a week day, & not the Lord's day, for that purpose."[1]) One of the hunters reported "plenty of Timber up the Valley."[2]

It is possible that Crow and Myers' journey south on horseback brought them within view of Utah Lake. Their hunt lasted the better part of two days, time enough for them to see not only Utah Lake but also Utah Valley. However, if they did see the lake, none of the journal keepers in the camp recorded the feat.

It is Orson Pratt, one of the first men in the pioneer company to view and enter Salt Lake Valley, who is usually credited with the honor of being the first pioneer to view Utah Lake and Utah Valley. Pratt, Brigham Young, and fourteen others who were apparently bitten by the exploration bug left the pioneer camp 27 July. The party traveled to the Great Salt Lake and swam in its waters near Black Rock. Then they camped close to the lake's south shore.

The next morning the explorers began their return trip. They traveled eastward then circled about ten miles to the south where they stopped for lunch. Leaving the others, the intrepid Pratt continued southward another three miles or so where he climbed a ridge near the Point of the Mountain and viewed Utah Valley and Utah Lake. The lake he said, "appeared to be nearly 20 miles distant to the south."[3]

The Mormons seemed to be anxious to learn more about the valley to the south that had almost become the site of their initial settlement, for within the next few days, several pioneer men

FIGURE 15

The Mormon intellectual Orson Pratt became one of the first pioneers to see Utah Lake. *He was also one of the first two Mormons to see Salt Lake Valley on 19 July. Two days later, on 21 July, he became one of the first two Mormon men to enter the Great Basin.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

completed investigations of it. Jesse C. Little claimed in a letter he wrote forty-three years later that he and several other men were the first from the pioneer company to explore Utah Valley; they were not.

On 2 August, two days before Little and his companions left for the vicinity of Utah Lake, Lewis Myers, the gentile mountain man who came into the basin with the Mormons, arrived back in the Salt Lake settlement after visiting Utah Valley. Available records do not tell when Myers began his trip, why he took it, or if he took others with him, but pioneer journals do indicate that he returned to Salt Lake City on 2 August. Myers reported the north end of "Eutaw Lake" lay about thirty miles south from the settlement in Salt Lake Valley. He observed abundant timber on the east side of Utah Valley. Myers suggested the pioneers could easily transport this timber to their settlement by floating it down the Jordan River which he said originated from Utah Lake and flowed into the Great Salt Lake.[4]

On the morning of 4 August, Jesse C. Little, Samuel Brannan, and Mormon Battalion Lieutenant William Willis began a hurried trip to Utah Valley. They returned the next day and gave a more extensive report than the one given by Myers. The explorers observed no timber in the valley itself but stated most of the soil could be made tillable by irrigation. They inspected the waters of the lake and found them to be "fresh, but mud[d]y & poor for drinking."[5]

In early August, the Mormons made their first attempt to explore Utah Lake by boat. On 26 July, just two days after his arrival in the Great Basin, Brigham Young ordered workmen to go to the canyons, cut down trees, haul them to the settlement, saw them into planks, and construct a boat.[6] His orders and their timing indicate the importance Young placed on the completion of an expeditious exploration of Utah Lake, Great Salt Lake, and Jordan River.

Energetic men rapidly responded. The day after Young issued his orders, laborers pulled a fourteen-foot long twenty-inch thick pine log into camp, and they hauled in others during the following weeks.[7] Other workmen were already engaged in "preparing a saw pit to saw the log and make a skiff as soon as possible."[8]

This saw was not a water-powered mill. It consisted of a long trench dug about as deep as a man's shoulders. The sawyers built a strong trestle over the pit on which the men placed the log which was to be sawed. The laborers used a long saw with handles at each end. One sawyer stood on top of the log and the other worked from the pit. The man on the log pulled the saw up, and the workman in the pit pulled it back down.[9] By this slow process, the men worked from one end of the log to the other. In late July, workmen finished the pit saw, and sawyers busily transformed logs into planks.

As soon as planks were available, craftsmen began work on a skiff constructed in the form of a bateau, a lightweight, flat-bottomed boat.[10] This well-chosen design not only made the boat easy to transport but also made it easy to sail on shallow water. This was important because in places the Great Salt Lake, Jordan River, and Utah Lake were not very deep.

On 10 August, Norton Jacob worked "on the Skiff we are building to fish in Utah Lake."[11] The Next day the carpenters "finished the skiff and launched her in the creek to soak."[12] By doing this, they hoped to swell shut the seams between the planks.

Albert Carrington, Amasa Lyman, Jesse C. Little, and two others impatiently awaited the chance to launch the skiff. On 12 August, the day after the craft was finished, the men "started with the boat on wheels for Eute Lake to fish & explore the country."[13] When they reached the crest of the Point of the Mountain, they looked down the steep southern slope into Utah Valley and decided to take the boat no farther. They worried that if they took the boat down that long steep hill, they would not have enough men or animals to get it back up again without doing considerable road work. Since they had no tools, they turned back with the boat.[14]

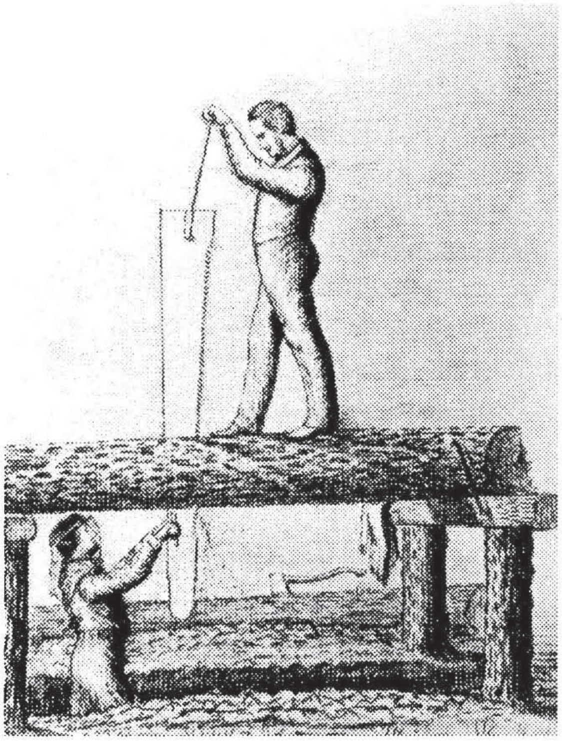

FIGURE 16

Utah's first saw mill. *Soon after the pioneers began their settlement in Salt Lake Valley, workmen received orders to build a boat to be used on Utah Lake. They constructed this pit saw to cut logs into lumber needed for this boat, structures, and useful articles.* COURTESY UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Still yearning for a boat ride, however, they took the craft to the Jordan River just below the mouth of its narrow canyon and launched it. The men loaded the boat with fishing equipment and supplies, Albert Carrington and two others climbed aboard, and the three men floated northward toward the Great Salt Lake. They tried fishing but found that the "water runs so rapid in [the] outlet & its banks are so thickly fringed with willows that [the] net could not be drawn to any advantage."[15] The party caught just four fish.[16] The boatmen arrived at the pioneer ford on the Jordan River 14 August and left the boat in the river pending further use.[17] The men soon busied themselves with other necessary activities, and dreams of fishing on Utah Lake were stowed away in the backs of their minds. The finny tribe swimming in the lake had nothing to fear from pioneer fishermen for another three-and-a-half months.

The observations of these boatmen and other pioneers who visited the

Jordan in 1847 provide us with our earliest glimpse of what Norton Jacob reported to be a beautiful river.[18] Early visitors noted that the Jordan ran rapidly through the Jordan Narrows near Point of the Mountain and flowed into Salt Lake Valley. Once the Jordan entered the valley's gently sloping plain, its current became slower and more gentle. A thick growth of willows lined its channel, and Carrington's boatmen noticed "faint traces of Ore in the Creek & River banks."[19] According to earliest estimations, the river averaged eighty-three feet in width, but was one hundred to one hundred thirty feet wide at the ford. The pioneers reported the ford had a gravel bottom and was about three feet deep.[20]

Pioneer evaluations of the quality of the Jordan's water help us formulate an idea of the condition of the water in the river's source, Utah Lake. After Orson Pratt viewed the Jordan, he wrote that it was "not quite so transparent as the mountain streams" flowing through the Salt Lake Valley.[21] William Clayton wrote that the Jordan's waters were "a dark lead color."[22] These descriptions of the river indicate that the water in Utah Lake was not crystal clear.

FIGURE 17

Albert Carrington and several others made the first attempt to launch a boat on Utah Lake in 1847. *Their efforts were unsuccessful, but they did float the boat down the Jordan River and collect useful information about that stream.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

Other pioneers visited Utah Lake during the fall of 1847. William Wordsworth, who had experience as a professional fisherman, scouted Utah Lake and the surrounding valley. He explored along the eastern shoreline of the lake as far south as Hobble Creek. Wordsworth then followed that stream bed nearly to the mouth of Hobble Creek Canyon and found it dry almost the entire distance.[23]

Utah Lake remained a curiosity. On 30 November 1847, after they had finished sowing their wheat and rye, Parley P. Pratt, John S. Higbee, Henry Russell and others returned to the flat-bottomed boat Carrington's group had launched in the Jordan River several months earlier. This new party loaded the skiff onto a wagon bed once more and started for Utah Lake on a fishing and exploring expedition.[24] Pratt and his party took sufficient oxen to pull the wagon and boat up steep hills, and some of the men rode horseback. This time the potential fishermen reached the lake, and if, like Carrington,

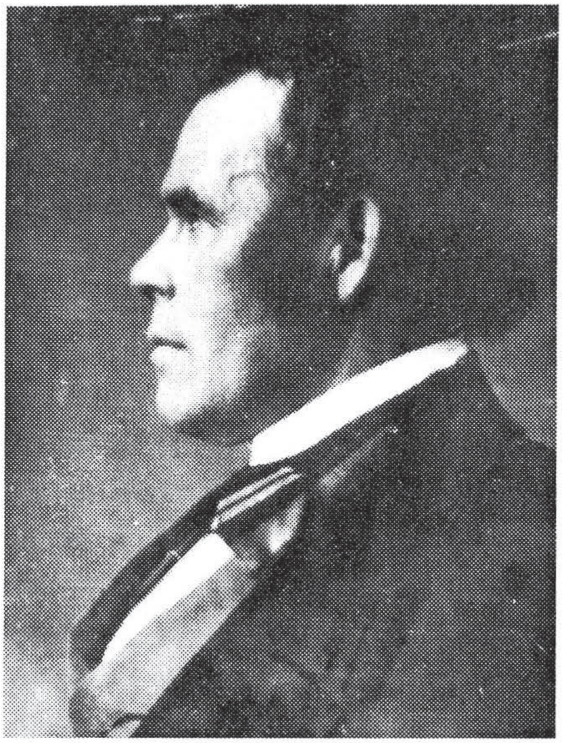

FIGURE 18

Mormon apostle Parley P. Pratt and a small group of men launched the first emigrant boat to sail on Utah Lake in early December 1847. *They fished with a net but caught only a small number of fish including a few trout. After exploring the area for several days, they returned to Salt Lake Valley.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

they made the journey to the Point of the Mountain in one day, it was likely 1 December when they launched the initial Mormon boat to sail on the lake.

Pratt's men used the skiff to explore many miles of Utah Lake's western shore. They also cast their net and tested their luck at fishing. The pioneer fishermen caught only a small number of fish among which were a few trout.[25] The men must have been very surprised and disappointed at their lack of success. All the information they had gathered indicated that the lake teemed with fish. Subsequent experience showed that lake trout went to deep water during the winter and that the west side of Utah Lake never was a prime trout fishing area.[26] Such was fishermen's luck. In the future, after they had learned how and where to fish the lake, fishermen would see plenty of fish at the mouths of the streams on the east side of the lake during spawning season. Pratt and his group spent several days exploring the lake and the valley. Then they returned to Salt Lake City.[27]

A few days after the pioneers arrived in Salt Lake Valley, Indians visited the new settlement and traded horses and peltries for guns, powder, lead, and clothing.[28] Norton Jacob found them to be, "Shrewd harmless People verry familiar in their manners but not Beggars like the Indians East of the mountains they slept in our camp, & molested nothing."[29] However, the Indians soon posed a threat to the settlers. Utes and Shoshones, traditional enemies, argued and fought with each other, destabilizing the area for Mormons. Occasionally, so many Indians visited the Mormon colony that it became bothersome for the settlers. For instance, on 11 August 1847, about one hundred fifty Utes arrived at the settlement.[30] As a result of these inconveniences, trading in the pioneer settlement was discouraged and soon forbidden.

Eventually, the Salt Lake City High Council, the temporary governing body of Salt Lake City, appointed a few representatives of the people to go to the Indian villages and do the trading there. By November 1847, the council had selected Thomas Williams, Charles Shumway, and Ebenezer Hanks as Indian traders, and "O[rrin] P[orter] Rockwell was permitted to go & trade with the Indians at his pleasure."[31]

In a way, the Utes encouraged the exploration of Utah Valley. Even though their presence in the valley prevented the immediate settlement of the area, Ute villages near Utah Lake did welcome visits from Mormon traders. Commencing in the fall of 1847, small trading groups left Salt Lake City under the direction of trading representatives and went south to Ute villages located on the streams in Utah Valley and on the Sevier River. Abner Blackburn accompanied Thomas Williams and Ephraim Hanks on one of these trading expeditions in December of 1847. Blackburn wrote that this expedition had "come to Provo [River] and had a palaver with Old Elk, the chief of the Utahs."[32]

These traders and others who visited Utah Valley undoubtedly noticed its many desirable qualities, but all visitors expeditiously finished their business and returned to Salt Lake City. Thoughts of settlement may have begun to form in their minds, but for now the pioneers were just passing through.

Other Mormon groups traveled through Utah Valley in 1847. One company journeyed through on the way to California to procure supplies for the new colony in Salt Lake Valley. During the summer and fall of 1847, new settlers traveled the trail west and swarmed into the Great Basin. A number of former Mormon Battalion members also arrived from California. Some of these newcomers were low on supplies, which foreshadowed a lean lifestyle until the settlers brought in their first harvest during the summer of 1848.

Jefferson Hunt, who had served with the Mormon Battalion and had witnessed the bounties of California, thought of a possible remedy for this lack of food. On 13 November 1847, Hunt asked the Salt Lake City High Council, the new colony's temporary

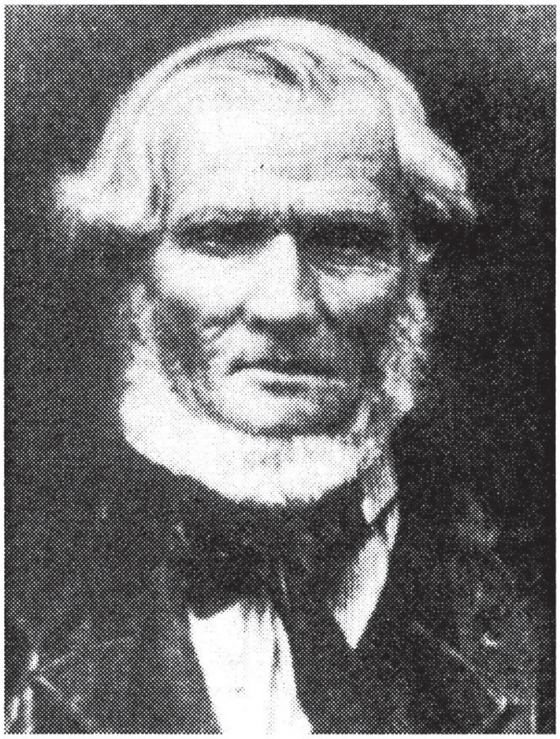

FIGURE 19

Jefferson Hunt and a party of settlers traveled through Utah Valley in 1847. *Since Hunt and other Mormon Battalion veterans were low on provisions, he asked the Salt Lake City High Council for permission to go to California and bring back much needed cattle and supplies. The expedition received the council's sanction and left Salt Lake City in November. The group returned with supplies the following spring. Hunt eventually became one of Fort Utah's first settlers.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

governing body during the winter of 1847–48, for permission to take a small pack company to California and back. Hunt planned to travel to Utah Valley and then follow the Spanish Trail to California, where he would buy wheat, seeds, cuttings, livestock, and food and bring these supplies back to Salt Lake Valley. If everything went well, Hunt hoped the company could arrive back in the valley the next spring.

The council authorized the expedition and appointed Horace Lathrop, Elijah Fuller, and Orrin Porter Rockwell as leaders. Jefferson Hunt, two of his sons, a foster son, and eleven others also made the journey. Part of the company left on 17 November and the rest followed the next day.[33] They likely took note of Utah Valley's desirable qualities as they made their way toward California over the Southern Route.

Not all of the people who traveled through Utah Valley during the waning days of 1847 planned to stay in the Great Basin. A few of the pioneers of 1847 were dissatisfied with prospects of ever having a comfortable life in Salt Lake Valley and the surrounding region. A number of these dissidents used Utah Valley as a route on which to escape from the Great Basin.

Early in October, the Salt Lake City High Council was disturbed by the news that four men, whom the council did not consider to be in good faith, had traveled north with their families and set up camp at Miles Goodyear's Fort Buenaventura.[34] It appeared that the dissidents intended to return to the Midwest. The actions of these men unsettled the leaders because nobody was permitted to leave the Mormon settlements without the high council's consent. The council also worried that Goodyear's fort would become a gathering place for apostates.

Apprehensive that these families planned to leave the basin in the near future without permission, the Salt Lake City High Council discussed the matter on 7 October 1847 and dispatched Marshal John Van Cott and a few men north to find the dissidents and instruct them to return. When the marshal came back, he reported that the defectors had promised to return, though they used harsh language and said they "did not like so much bondage."[35]

The defectors had still not returned by 24 October, and this time the council instructed Marshal Van Cott to take nine men and bring the dissidents back to Salt Lake City. He contacted the families again, and within ten days they returned and camped near the city.[36]

Four members of the returning group, William Gardner and his son and a Mr. Babcock and his son, were still determined to leave the basin. Leaving Salt Lake Valley in secret, they passed through Utah Valley in December on their way to California. When they reached Sevier River, Jim Baker, the mountaineer, and Miles Goodyear's former partner, Captain Wells, warned them that the Indians would likely kill them before they reached California. This disquieting news turned the dissidents back. Again they traversed Utah Valley. This time they headed for the mouth of Provo Canyon, where they turned eastward toward Fort Bridger. They spent the winter at Bridger's establishment. In the spring, the four defectors left for Missouri where they found employment.[37]

Partly as a result of these problems with dissenters, the Mormons bought out Miles Goodyear's establishment at the confluence of the Ogden and Weber Rivers. At Christmas time after selling his fort, Goodyear and four others, including his brother, Andrew, started on the Southern Route to California. They were joined by five or six dissatisfied Saints. The marshal and several men were again sent out to turn back the departing Mormons. The dissenters made no opposition and returned to report to John Smith, the president of the high council. They asked for and received his permission to leave the Great Basin on 28 December and resumed their journey south through Utah Valley and on toward California.[38]

By the time the calendar turned to a new year, the Mormons had accumulated much useful information about Utah Valley. However, available records covering 1847 say almost nothing about Mormon contact with the area's native inhabitants. There was certainly some interaction between the two races, but it seems to have been mainly limited to the business of trading. It is possible that when the pioneers arrived during late summer of 1847 and subsequently began to explore the valley, many of the Timpanogots had left the lowlands and camped in the canyons to gather berries and hunt big game. Perhaps to minimize the chance of causing friction between the two cultures, the settlers followed Brigham Young's earlier instructions "not to crowd upon the Utes."[39] For whatever reasons, 1847 ended without any apparent altercations between the newcomers and the Indians of Utah Valley.

Endnotes

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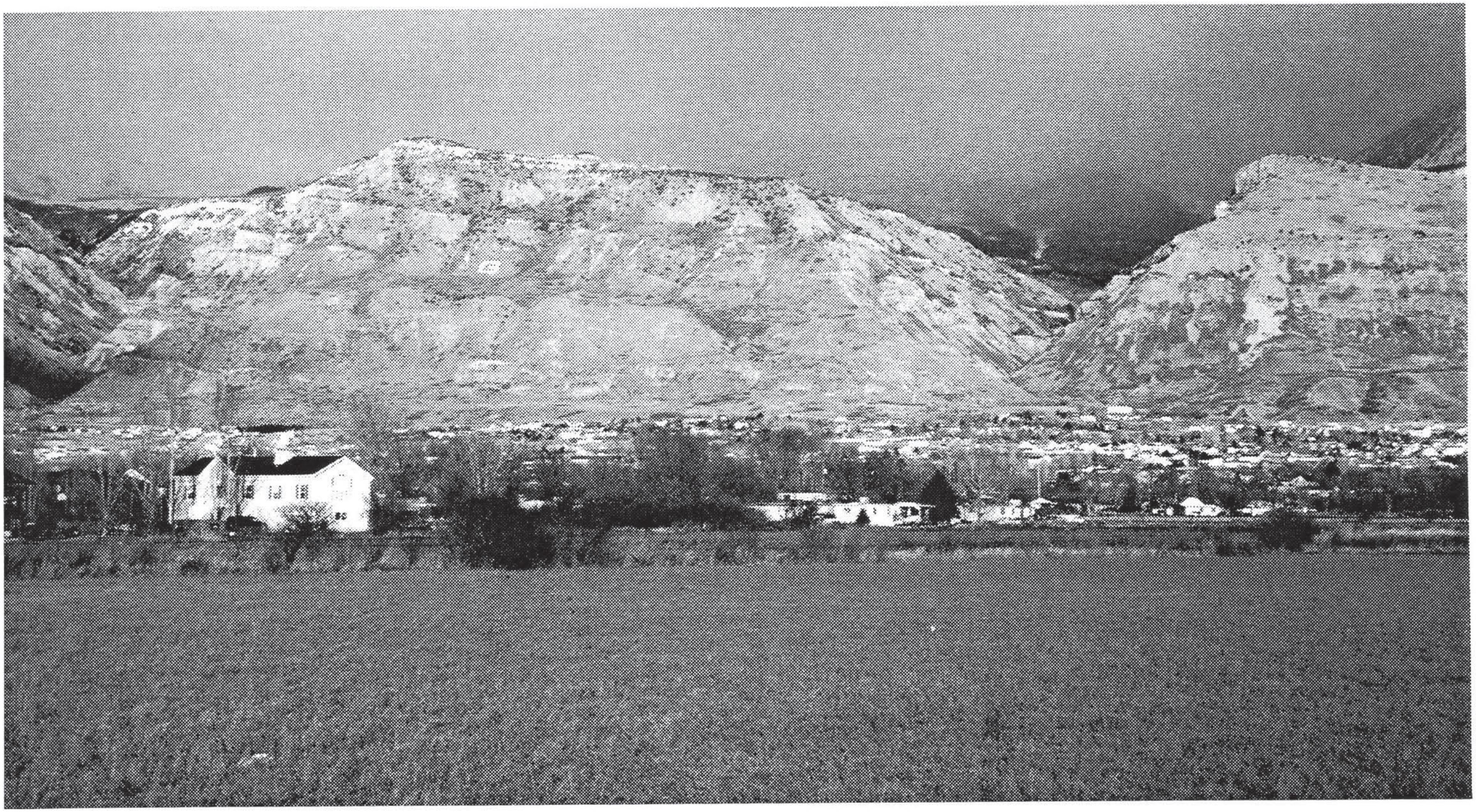

FIGURE 20

The mouth of Battle Creek Canyon at the foot of Mount Timpanogos east of Pleasant Grove was the site of Utah's first Indian skirmish. *Battle Creek Canyon appears on the right and Grove Creek Canyon is seen on the left.* COURTESY AUTHOR.

CHAPTER 4

Explorations and Confrontations

THE FIRST NOTABLE INDIAN CONFRONTATION IN UTAH Valley occurred in late February and early March of 1848. The winter of 1847–48 was a mild one, but that harsh time of the year when food was scarce always proved to be a difficult one for the Timpanogots. Many of the new settlers also tightened their belts because they had not arrived in Salt Lake Valley with a sufficient supply of food to last until the next harvest. Competition between the two cultures for natures's scanty food resources began that first year. Pioneer hunters shot some of the wild game, reducing the amount of food available for the Utes. Early in 1848, the temptation for easy food on the hoof became too much for some Indians to withstand.

Late in February, reports circulated that Indians living on the east side of Utah Lake were driving off pioneer cattle and horses from Tooele and Salt Lake Valleys and taking them to Utah Valley. Acting on this information, the Salt Lake City High Council met and authorized Marshal John Van Cott to take eight or ten men to the southern valley and check into the problem. He left with the authority to take whatever action he thought proper.[1]

On 1 March, leaders in Salt Lake City received a communication from Marshal Van Cott. He reported that his posse had located a group of Utes with seven cattle in their possession. Van Cott's men had also found the spot where one animal had been slaughtered. The marshal requested forty men to back him up in an attempt to recover the animals that had not yet been killed.[2] The men were sent and Van Cott returned to the Ute village with a posse that now numbered forty-four men including an interpreter. Marshal Van Cott and his posse found and confronted the Indians they supposed were guilty of the theft. The scene got ugly, and at one point the Utes fired upon Van Cott's men. Fortunately, nobody was hurt.[3]

Cooler heads prevailed and the two sides settled down to talk things over. The Indians admitted driving off and killing seventeen cattle and one horse. The posse received one gun as compensation, and apparently the chief whipped several of the guilty men. The Utes promised not to steal any more animals.[4] Edmund Ellsworth, a member of the posse, mentioned in a letter to Brigham Young that as a result of their parley with the Utes "a treaty was made with them wherein they agreed to molest our cattle no more."[5]

LDS Church Patriarch John Smith's letter to his son, George A. Smith, adds a few details concerning the confrontation and demonstrates a far more negative attitude toward the Utes than Ellsworth's letter did. Smith's missive indicates that the pioneers took a tough stance toward the Indians and dictated the treaty with an iron hand. Patriarch Smith, the man Brigham Young left in temporary control of Salt Lake City when Young returned to Winter Quarters to lead other settlers to the Great Basin, wrote that the posse found the Utes "to be a poor miserable lot." He said the men from Salt Lake City confiscated the only gun the Utes had and whipped the two main thieves. According to Smith, who did not accompany the posse to Utah Valley, the settlers threatened the Utes that "if they renewed their depredations, we would cut them all off, which will produce a salutary effect."[6] The phrase "cut them off" was often used by the early settlers of Utah to mean end someone's earthy existence. The threat may have temporarily calmed the Utes, but when it was carried out a year later on Battle Creek, the effect proved to be anything but beneficial.

A letter sent by John Bennion to his wife's sister, Hannah Berry, shows that Van Cott's expedition returned from Utah Valley 5 March 1848. In contrast to Smith's letter, Bennion's lighthearted missive makes the posse's trip to the valley sound almost like a junket. He may not have wanted to alarm family members living outside the Great Basin by making the trip sound dangerous. Bennion wrote:

> Today, March 5th, I returned home with others who have been away in a neighboring valley where we were sent on an errand to the Indians. I have seen a little more of the country and also of the wild Indians. They inhabit a pleasant valley about 50 miles south of here, in which is a lake about 40 miles long which is called Utah Lake. The weather was pleasant; at night we could roll up in a buffalo robe and sleep in the open air and enjoy ourselves quite well.[7]

Late in February and early in March of 1848, some of the colonists in Salt Lake Valley, like the Timpanogots in Utah Valley, suffered hunger pains. A number of the settlers of 1847 arrived in the valley ill-equipped to feed themselves through the winter. This made the loss of the seventeen cattle to the Utes all the more critical. Eventually, some families desperately needed help. Since Brigham Young would be absent until the next summer and rapid communication with him would be impossible, the leaders he left in charge in Salt Lake Valley thought of some innovative solutions on their own and acted with dispatch.

On 20 February 1848, the Salt Lake City High Council devised a plan to help fend off starvation. The bishops received instructions from the council to collect donations from those who could spare food and distribute these provisions to the needy. Families who donated could receive tax credits, and those who received food could work on the Jordan Bridge or other public works projects in exchange for this aid.[8]

By spring ill-prepared families had almost run out of provisions, and the need for food intensified. Again the high council aided the needy. The leaders determined that the destitute should give a list of what property they had in their possession to their bishops who were to turn the lists over to Bishops Edward Hunter and Tarlton Lewis, members of the "presiding" bishopric. These two men "were fully empowered to buy, sell & make all exchanges the circumstances of the cases might, in their judgement require."[9] Hunter and Lewis bartered the personal property belonging to the impoverished for food which they, in turn, gave to the hungry poor in exchange for their property.[10] Thanks to this unique method of cooperation, none of the settlers died of starvation.

Mormon Battalion veterans and emigrants who had camped for the winter in Pueblo were among those who endured the most deprivation. Dimick B. Huntington spent the winter in the valley after serving with the Battalion. He and his family suffered intensely. Oliver B. Huntington wrote the following account describing how his brother, Dimick, and other Battalion veterans fared:

> Roots were dug most of the winter for subsistance [sic] to form a change from beef. . . . These soldier boys, as we called them, were driven to that extremity that they ate the hide, entrials [sic] and blood of cattle that were killed for beef, and upon which cattle the crows and ravens might have thought they had a good claim. For the last four months before harvest, Dimick and his family tasted not of bread. . . . Miserable poor salt beef, roots and fish were their diet.[11]

Apostle Parley P. Pratt journeyed to the Great Basin directly after returning from a mission and apparently lacked provisions to last until the next harvest. Pratt felt the pinch of hunger with others in the valley. By early March, he claimed to "have neither milk, meat, nor butter."[12] In this time of hunger, he remembered the ample resources of Utah Valley, and his interest in the fish available in Utah Lake rekindled.

On 6 March, the day after Marshal Van Cott's posse returned from chastising the cattle-stealing Indians in Utah Valley, the Salt Lake City High Council held a meeting at the insistence of Apostle Pratt. Charles C. Rich stated that the object of the meeting was to discuss the propriety of sending a fishing company to Utah Lake. Apostle Pratt came prepared to make several proposals. He began by suggesting that sending a fishing company would be a good policy since there would be a scarcity of provisions until the next harvest. Pratt pointed out that a party from Salt Lake City could not only fish the lake but could also buy fish from the Utes.[13]

Pratt's next proposal seems to have partially evolved from a motive other than hunger. Apostles Pratt and John Taylor were apparently dissatisfied with the secondary role they played in governing the new colony. In late August 1847 before Brigham Young left the Great Basin for Winter Quarters, he assigned the Salt Lake City High Council to govern the city until he returned in the summer of 1848. Pratt and Taylor felt that since apostles outranked high councilmen in the church hierarchy, they, not the high council, should lead the colony. Also, Pratt and Taylor still smarted from a tongue lashing Brigham Young gave them when Young's returning party met Pratt's and Taylor's westward bound companies near South Pass.

Before they left Winter Quarters, Young and some of the Twelve Apostles planned the organization of the wagon companies that were to follow them into the Great Basin. The leaders saw a similarity between the Mormons and the ancient Israelites. The Israelites left slavery in Egypt for freedom in the Promised Land. Now the Mormons were leaving "bondage" in the United States for the autonomy of the West. Hence, Brigham Young and the other leaders patterned the structure of the emigrant companies after the organization of the ancient Camp of Israel.

Pratt and Taylor were not in Winter Quarters at the time these plans were made, and they were apparently unaware of how strongly Young felt about his plan for organization being followed. After the second wave of emigrants left Winter Quarters that summer, Pratt and Taylor, who accompanied these home seekers, changed the organization of the companies to facilitate speedy travel. On his way back to Winter Quarters, Young met these westward traveling companies, and he forcefully rebuked the two apostles for making these changes.[14] These two factors caused Pratt and Taylor to chaff over their situation. Taylor seemed to adjust to the circumstances better than Pratt did.

The settlers noticed how the two apostles reacted to these conditions and rumors circulated. Willard Snow wrote the following to his brother Erastus on 6 October 1847:

> Rumor says that they [Pratt and Taylor] feel as though this place belonged to Brigham [Young] & Heber [Kimball] who organized these two divisions [of emigrants] & they [Pratt and Taylor] are at liberty to locate in Piute valley the utaw or some where else I think that however is the effects of Pres Youngs whipping he gave them & may soon wear away but it is certain that they both feell [sic] keenly as though they were disarmed & shorn of a great portion of this power which is probably the facts still I think they will act in consort.[15]

Pratt did later step back into line, but in 1848 he seemed determined to create his own sphere of influence by founding a settlement in Utah Valley.

During the 6 March council meeting, Pratt also brought up the possibility of making a treaty with the Timpanogots and taking possession of Utah Valley by mutual consent. He offered to lead a company to be formed for that purpose. After some discussion, the council authorized Pratt to establish a fishery and make a settlement in Utah Valley if he fulfilled two main requirements. These stipulations indicate that the council considered the Utes to be dangerous. First, the ruling body required Pratt to negotiate a treaty with the Utes that would allow such a colony to be founded. Second, the council insisted that Pratt raise a company of at least twenty volunteers to go with him. The ruling body instructed him to recruit either single men or men with small families.[16]

When the meeting of the Salt Lake Stake leaders opened on 12 March, Charles C. Rich still favored the proposed settlement and fishing enterprise in Utah Valley. He notified all men who wished to go to the valley and fish for three months or longer to notify William Wordsworth, a former professional fisherman who was apparently eager to fish on the lake.

Then Pratt spoke. He informed the leaders he had not yet been successful in finding twenty "industrious & well armed" men who would go with him for the season. Pratt acknowledged that he wished to go but said he would not leave without the necessary force of men. The apostle said that if he could find his twenty men, "he would prophesy that the Eutaw valley would be filled up next season."[17]

Tentative plans to found a settlement in Utah Valley in 1848, it seems, were still active as late as 16 March. On that date, Daniel Spencer "agreed to let a pair of oxen go to the Eutaw lake & move up the Brethren who are going there to make a setlement [*sic*]."[18] However, the pioneers did not succeed in establishing a colony in Utah Valley that spring, and the valley was not filled up that year. The records do not say why the valley was not colonized as planned. It is likely that either Pratt failed to raise his twenty men, or the Utes may not have been particularly pleased by the prospects of a permanent pioneer presence in their valley. In the latter case, any attempt to negotiate a treaty with them would not have succeeded. It is also possible that the high council restricted Pratt from colonizing because he did not meet both of their requirements.

The attempt to establish a colony in Utah Valley may have fizzled, but fishermen did visit Utah Lake in 1848. Although they may not have been exceedingly successful, these knights of the net furnished enough suckers, trout, and chubs to help the hungry people of Salt Lake Valley survive the difficult spring and summer of 1848 when frosts killed the early sprouting plants, crickets damaged the crops that survived the frosts, and the settlers suffered the consequences of bringing insufficient supplies to last until the next harvest.

As early as January 1848, settlers prepared tackle and seines, which are long nets used to fish in deeper waters, in anticipation of fishing on Utah's "Sea of Galilee." Since there were no fish in the Great Salt Lake, the hungry residents of Salt Lake Valley thrilled at the prospects of dining on a few of the Utah Lake's speckled beauties.[19]

Isabella Horne helped knit a seine that was one hundred yards long after "one of the apostles [Parley P. Pratt or John Taylor] proposed making a fish net to see if we could catch fish to help out with our poor beef." Horne knitted twenty-five yards, and John Taylor's family made the rest. A group of brethren christened the seine in the Jordan River one evening.[20] Fishermen almost certainly used this net later in Utah Lake.

Sometime late in March 1848, with hunger in Salt Lake Valley heightening, John Forsgren and others followed the instructions of the Salt Lake City High Council by forming the Eutaw Fishing Company.[21] It is not known how many fishermen eventually visited Utah Lake, but apparently the high council anticipated that there would be a large enough number of fishermen to cause some competition. On 1 April, the council decided that President John Smith should issue the Eutaw Fishing Company a license which would protect its fishing privileges on Utah Lake.[22] The license gave Forsgren and his company the exclusive right to fish in all the waters of Utah Valley that the company could properly occupy. All other fishermen were "forbiden [*sic*] to fish in said waters or in any manner that will infringe upon the rights & privileges of the said Co without making arrangements with them, under penalty of forfieting [*sic*] the amount of fish caught or equivalent & being liable to be fined at descretion by judge or judges."[23]

Unfortunately, information on the Eutaw Fishing Company is almost nonexistent. Consequently, we know nothing about how many men were involved in the company, where the company fished in Utah Lake, and how many fish they caught. Nor do we know how many trips they made to Utah Valley or how long the company existed. One terse note Forsgren sent to the high council late in October 1848 hints that the company had not been very successful financially. He petitioned the council to find some means to reimburse those who furnished the cotton yarn used to knit the fish net operated by the company. Forsgren claimed to be unable to pay the bill.[24]

Levi Jackman and Joseph Harker both left contemporary accounts relating fishing experiences on Utah Lake in 1848. Neither man mentioned being connected with the Eutaw Fishing Company, and neither caught any fish. Jackman and a Brother Pierce left Salt Lake City on 19 April and headed "for the Eutaw Lake to see the country and get sum fish."[25] The two men planned to fish without a boat and traveled as far south as Provo River. Their carriage turned over twice on the trip, once on the way to the lake and once on the way back to Salt Lake City. The first accident "lamed" Jackman's foot. On the return trip, the carriage tipped over in a stream, and Jackman "got thuroley wet and took a bad coald."[26] After passing "through sum fine Country, and Sum that did not appear to be worth mutch,"[27] they arrived back in Salt Lake City after a three-day trip. The two had proverbial fishermen's luck; they "did not succede in gitting any fish."[28]

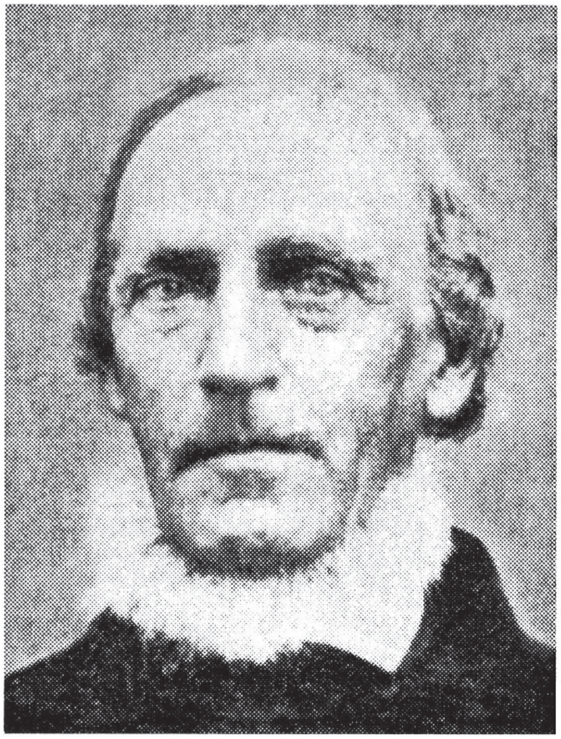

FIGURE 21

Levi Jackman made an eventful but unsuccessful fishing trip to Utah Valley in 1848. *The poor condition of the trail caused Jackman's carriage to tip over twice. To make things worse, he caught no fish.* PIONEERS AND PROMINENT MEN.

In May 1848, Harker visited Utah Lake accompanied by five others: Parley P. Pratt, Bishop Abraham Hoagland, Joseph Horne, James Oakley, and a man identified only as "the Captain of the Boat."[29] There seems to be no evidence that the colonists had yet constructed another boat, so the craft used by this fishing company was probably the pioneer skiff used by Higbee and Pratt in December 1847. Since John S. Higbee was granted the use of the pioneer skiff, he was likely "the Captain of the Boat." In as much as Pratt and Horne were members of this fishing company, it is also likely that the fishermen cast the aforementioned net which had been partially knit by Isabella Horne.

The success of these fisherman matched the luck of Jackman and Pierce; they caught no fish. However, they did experience some excitement. The second night of their trip the piscators camped at Pelican Point, on the west shore of Utah Lake, where they were joined by a party of Indians who were traveling northward. The visitors, who may have been Shoshones, claimed to have killed some rival Indians in the south. Harker described the events of the rest of the evening: "They smooked thir pipes and eat sich [*sic*] as we had to give them. They told us that the Indians was a following them and they whould come upon us and kill us and they should not leave until we had got in the boat to cross to the other side the lake and came home the next day."[30] Thus, the unsuccessful trip was cut short. If Harker and company were anything like the fishermen of today, they returned home thinking that if they had only been able to stay one more day, they would have caught plenty of fish.[31]

Parley P. Pratt, one of the fishermen who came in the company with Harker, apparently fished Utah Lake with more success later in the summer of 1848. In September, Pratt wrote a letter to his brother, Orson, who was then serving an LDS mission in England. In this letter, Pratt claimed the lake contained large numbers of "suckers, trout and various kinds of fish."[32] The apostle certainly did not make this statement based on the results of his fishing trip with Higbee in December or his trip with Harker in May.

The Eutaw Fishing Company and some of the other pioneer fishing groups must have also experienced more success than the fishing expeditions described above, but historians have not yet located accounts of their exploits. It is also possible that the settlers bought some of the fish they ate from the Utes of Utah Valley. This certainly would have helped improve relations between the two peoples.

In May 1848, the long-awaited resupply expedition to California traveled through Utah Valley. Lathrop, Fuller, Hunt, and their company returned with cattle and provisions for the Salt Lake settlement. Since Joseph Harker and the company he fished with visited Utah Lake in May, Mormon fishermen might have been casting their nets on the lake as the advance contingent of the motley caravan of nineteen men, including five hired Indians from California, moved northward past the lake. The returning company likely crossed the Provo or Timpanogos River at the old ford which was about one hundred yards from where Fort Utah was constructed the next April. Jefferson Hunt, a member of the resupply company, was likely impressed with the area since he and his family were later among its first settlers.

The cattle drovers followed about ten days behind the advance company. Only about half of the two hundred cattle the group purchased in California arrived safely in Salt Lake Valley, and Indians stole many of the group's pack animals and the supplies they carried. Members of the expedition received some of their pay in cattle, and settlers were allowed to buy what they could afford.[33]

Early in June yet another party from California traveled through Utah Valley on the way to Salt Lake City. This group consisted of Mormon Battalion veterans who had served extended volunteer duty in San Diego. When their term of duty expired, they left for the Mormon settlement in the Great Basin. Henry Boyle led the company, which was guided by Orrin Porter Rockwell and James Snow. These two men had traveled to California with Lathrope and Fuller the previous winter.

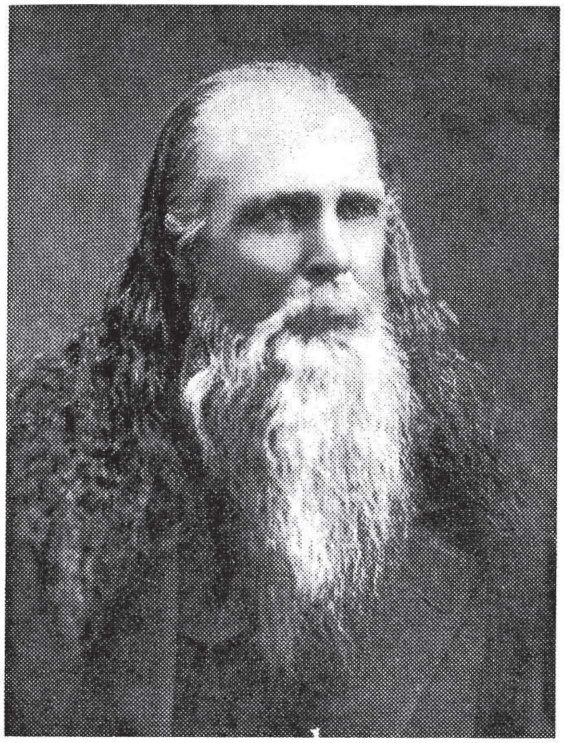

FIGURE 22

Orrin Porter Rockwell guided a company of Mormon Battalion veterans and others from Southern California to Salt Lake City in 1848. *The group, which traveled through Utah Valley on what later became known as the Southern Route, included the first Mormon woman to travel the full length of this trail.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

The Battalion group consisted of thirty-five men; one woman, Susan Davis, wife of Captain Daniel C. Davis; and the couple's eight-year-old son, Daniel C. Davis Jr. The veterans brought with them one wagon, a pack train of 135 mules and horses, plus some beef-on-the-hoof as rations. The wagon was the first known wheeled vehicle to travel the Southern Route.[34] Mrs. Davis was likely the first Mormon woman to journey the length of Utah Valley.

Doubtless many other unnamed pioneers visited Utah Valley or traveled through it in 1848. Each person added to the wealth of information about the valley that the pioneers collected that year. The area's potential for stock raising, farming, manufacturing, and fishing was now well known.

Early in 1849, the flood of pioneer expansion lay dammed behind the Point of the Mountain at the southern end of Salt Lake Valley. Ever since Brigham Young's company had arrived in 1847, the population of the Great Basin had steadily increased. About 1,700 people spent the first winter in Salt Lake Valley. The immigration of 1848 brought the number of people living on Great Salt Lake's eastern shore to about 4,500.[35] This influx of people made it necessary to create new settlements and put more land under cultivation. Mormon population spread southward through Salt Lake Valley, and by 1849, the southernmost settlement was established at Willow Creek (Draper). This put settlers and their cattle in close proximity to the Utes in Utah Valley. It was the need for new land coupled with cattle problems and Mormon-Indian relations that helped push a wave of Mormon colonizers over the rim of that huge Lake Bonneville sandbar and surging down into Utah Valley.

Cattle problems motivated the pioneers to visit the southern valley in January 1849. As the number of new settlers in Salt Lake Valley grew, cattle herds also multiplied and herdsmen sought new grazing areas for their cattle. The harshness of the winter of 1848–49 exacerbated the plight of finding sufficient feed for the animals. When snow covered much of the shorter grass in the vicinity of Salt Lake City, the pioneers who lived there were forced to look for new herd grounds.

As early as mid-December 1848, Mormon leaders considered rounding up the Salt Lake Valley herd and driving it to Utah Valley.[36] When the council met at Heber C. Kimball's house on 6 January 1849, the leaders considered the condition of the herd. They received reports that many of the animals were perishing from cold and hunger. Eight inches of snow covered most of the feed in the neighborhood of Salt Lake City. One of the council members mentioned hearing a report that snow was not as deep in Utah Valley.

Not wishing to move the herd to the environs of Utah Lake on the strength of hearsay, the council appointed a committee of ten men to examine range conditions beyond the Point of the Mountain and report back as soon as possible.[37] If the committee found favorable conditions, forty or fifty men would accompany the cattle to Utah Valley.[38]

The next morning, some members of the committee began their trip south.[39] In less than a week, Amasa M. Lyman reported to Brigham Young that it was not advisable to drive the cattle into Utah Valley. The committee later informed the council that snow was almost as deep in the southern valley as it was in Salt Lake Valley. They reported that snow drifts across the trail made the route over the Point of the Mountain impassible for weak cattle. The committee recommended that herders should drive the cattle to southern Salt Lake Valley where the snow was not quite so deep.[40]

On 6 January 1849, the same day the council appointed the committee to investigate grazing conditions in Utah Valley, the leaders appointed a second committee. Isaac Higbee, John M. Higbee, and William Wordsworth, who all had commercial fishing experience, became "a committee to seek out suitable fishing places in Utah Lake, establish fisheries, and supply the market."[41] Residents of Salt Lake City were apparently still in need of a steady supply of fish. If the fishing committee ever reported their findings, no evidence of the event has been located.[42]

Sometime prior to 19 January 1849,[43] Oliver B. Huntington joined Barney Ward and Joseph Mathews on an Indian trading expedition to Sevier River Valley. They traveled south on horseback and took with them two pack mules loaded with powder, lead, musket caps, tobacco, awls, flints and other miscellaneous trading merchandise. The traders hoped to exchange these goods for horses, furs, and dressed skins. The trail they followed passed through Utah Valley. The party spent their second night in a log cabin near American Fork Creek. A California bound family whose team failed when they reached Salt Lake City, a Spanish-Indian mountaineer Huntington called "Parbeleau," and a few Mormons who watched a large herd of cattle, played host to the Indian traders. These heterogeneous hosts planned to spent all winter in the valley.[44] Had they decided to stay longer, they would have been Utah Valley's first permanent settlers.

A band of Indians gathered in close proximity to the cabin. Some of them were desperate and savage. Blue Shirt, Roman Nose, and two of their brothers annoyed the traders by hanging around their camp and begging constantly for bread. Blue Shirt appeared very hostile and was known to have shot a white man.

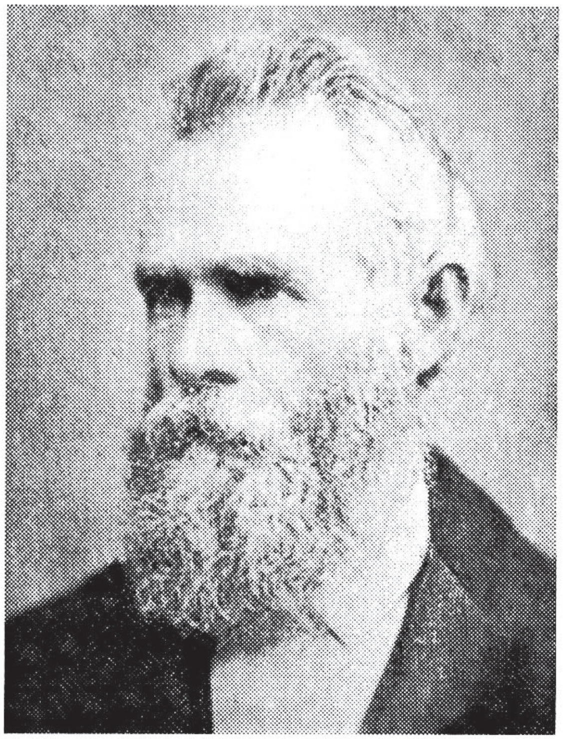

FIGURE 23

Oliver Boardman Huntington met cattle-rustling Utes while he was on a trading expedition in Utah Valley. *He returned to the valley to participate in a skirmish against these thieves. Huntington eventually settled in Springville.* PIONEERS AND PROMINENT MEN.

Huntington tried to scare Blue Shirt and almost succeeded in adding another notch to the Indian's rifle butt. Blue Shirt stood close to Huntington as the pioneer saddled his horse. When the three traders were ready to leave and Huntington was about to pick up his gun, a boyish prank entered his mind. He stared fiercely at Blue Shirt and quickly snatched up his weapon. The trader had no sooner grabbed it than the Indian had his rifle in hand, cocked and ready to fire. Huntington later wrote that he "laughed and turned the matter off in its true color, but perhaps was of the two, the most frightened."[45]

The traders called off their trip to Sevier River and stayed in Utah Valley a little over a week. They spent one evening near a stream flowing through the present site of Springville. That night their bell-horse slipped its hobbles and led the traders' horse band toward the mouth of Maple Canyon. The next morning, the trio discovered their horses were gone, and Huntington tracked them to Mapleton Bench, where he recovered them and then returned to camp. The traders named the stream on which they were camped, "Hobble Creek." Huntington, Ward, and Mathews spent the rest of their trip trading with Utes camped near Spanish Fork River.[46]

Oliver B. Huntington was enchanted with Utah Valley, the area that would eventually become his home. His feelings are best described in his own words:

> Besides the Salt Lake Valley are several smaller vallies the largest of which is the Ewtah, which would be the end of my searches to find a pleasant, and delightful home . . . the Ewtah Lake in the centre . . . laying in an irregular tryangular form—well filled with excelent fish—as also all its large tributaries—From almost any point the whole valley and lake is in full view, Surrounded with very high, bold mountains, more so than the other Valley described [Salt Lake Valley]—The Moste of the western side of the valley is sandy and covered with Juniper trees. There are 5 or 6 small rivers and numerous little creeks emptying into this lake, and the borders of these creeks and rivers are stocked with wood, and up these streams into the mountains the wood is easier of access than in Salt Lake Valley, also there is always less snow in this valley, and a good salt spring in the south end. This valley will probably hold and sustain about 50,000.[47]

After a short stint at school teaching in Salt Lake City, Huntington was again drawn to Utah Valley. He joined his nephew, Allen Huntington; Thomas S. Williams, and Alexander Williams on a week-long trading expedition to the valley. Again the traders met Blue Shirt, Roman Nose, and their two brothers. The Indians joined them near Dry Creek, present-day Lehi. Two of the brothers followed the traders to an Indian village on Provo River. During the traders' visit to this village, Little Chief, the Timpanogots leader, told the Mormons that Blue Shirt and Roman Nose, along with their two brothers and their father, were great thieves. Little Chief said these renegades, who were related to Wanship's Salt Lake Valley Utes, had disregarded Mormon admonitions not to steal the settlers' stock. The renegades decided to live by themselves and subsist on the colonists' cattle all winter. Little Chief stated that he wanted the Mormons to send a force to kill the thieving renegades, apparently thinking of the incident the previous year when the armed Mormon posse came to Utah Valley and some of his men were whipped for stealing cattle. Worried that the renegades might be able to convince members of his camp to steal Mormon cattle or that law-abiding Utes in his camp would be blamed and punished for thefts committed by the renegades, Little Chief told Huntington, "If they are not killed now, they will soon get more men to stealing cattle and then you will come up and kill me, my men, women and children." Huntington said he told Brigham Young of the thievery as soon as he arrived back in Salt Lake City.[48]

News of the cattle thefts apparently reached the city even before Huntington arrived back from his Indian trading expedition. On 27 February, news spread through the settlement that fourteen horses from Orr's herd in southern Salt Lake Valley and several cattle from Tooele Valley had been stolen

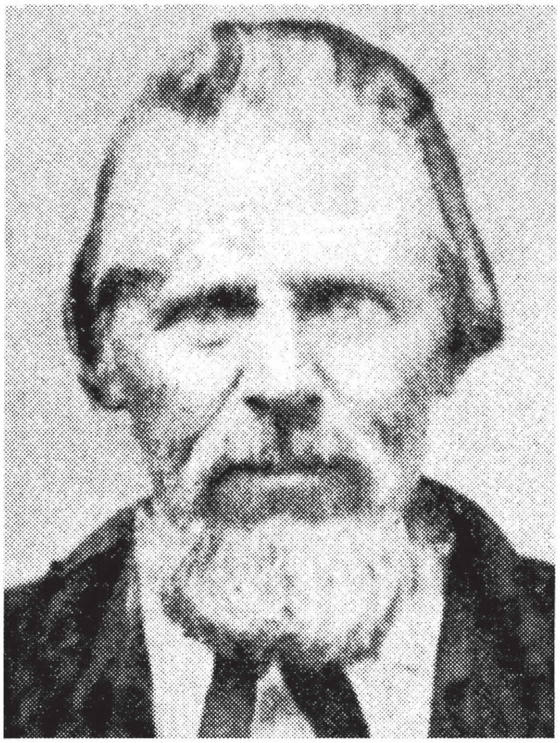

FIGURE 24

Captain John Scott led an armed posse into Utah Valley in search of renegade Ute cattle thieves. *Scott and his men found the rustlers and skirmished with them. The posse suffered no casualties while killing four Ute men and capturing their women and children.* PIONEERS AND PROMINENT MEN.

by Utes and driven to Utah Valley. Captain John Scott received orders to raise a company of fifty men, take them to Utah Valley, and deal with the thieves. Hosea Stout was one of the thirty-one men who responded to the call, and at about noon on 1 March, the force moved out of Salt Lake City heading south. According to Stout, Scott's orders were to find the guilty Utes and "take such measures as would put a final end to their depredations in the future."[49]

That night the company camped uncomfortably in the snow. An icy wind added to their suffering, and there was little feed for their horses. Scott received two messages. About nine o'clock he received news that the Indians had stolen cattle, but they had taken no horses. Then, near midnight, he received a note from Daniel Spencer ordering him to proceed against the Indians for stealing cattle.

Cold drove the company from their beds on the morning of 2 March, and the men searched for feed for their horses then resumed their journey south. Scott managed to enlist the services of four more men in southern Salt Lake Valley, and the expanded company of thirty-five men moved to Point of the Mountain, where they made camp.

On 3 March, the small military force entered Utah Valley. Scott split his men into three groups, and they moved toward the lake scouring the valley for Indians as they went. None of the groups encountered Indians before the force reconvened about two miles north of Utah Lake on Dry Creek. From there they traveled together to American Fork Creek and made camp.

Two more inches of snow fell that night, and the next morning the company made a chilly march to the Provo River. Dimick B. Huntington and Barney Ward were sent ahead to inform the Utes that the company was about to arrive.[50] According to Oliver B. Huntington, who was a member of the expedition, there were two villages, one on each side of the river. Little Chief, whom Huntington described as " a noted friend to all white men," presided over one village, and Stick-in-the-Head, who was not well respected by the pioneers, commanded the other.[51]

The officers wisely decided to question Little Chief and his camp of approximately 200 people[52] about the whereabouts of the renegade Utes. Stout described the Utes in the camp as friendly but excited and apparently afraid of the armed company. Huntington, who agreed with Stout's assessment of the situation, wrote,"The Chief and all the Indians were wonderfully frightened to see our martial array, and order on horseback."[53] Under pressure from the armed company, Little Chief made what must have been a difficult decision. He chose to expose the location of his former companions and, by so doing, protect the people of his village.

Scott and his men traveled about three miles up Provo River and encamped. Little Chief accompanied them. Before he returned to his village, Little Chief promised to send two of his sons to lead the posse to the renegade camp. About an hour after dark, the promised guides arrived. They insisted on traveling to the renegade camp that night before possible sympathizers had a chance to warn the cattle thieves of impending danger.

The company broke camp, and their guides led them up Provo River to the foot of Mount Timpanogos. A clear sky and bright moon made the nocturnal journey easier. Then the group turned north and traveled along the bench land for several miles. When they got nearer to the enemy camp, Scott ordered the company to dismount so they would make less noise. Ten of the company and one Indian guide stayed in a juniper grove with the horses, which they tied to trees and clumps of sagebrush. The horse guard kept the animals saddled and ready for action. The remainder of the company quietly pressed northward on foot.

Near the mouth of what is now called Battle Creek Canyon, east of Pleasant Grove, the men discovered the fires of the Indian camp they sought. About a quarter of a mile from the canyon's mouth, the cattle thieves, consisting of four men, one teenaged boy, and a dozen women and children, had pitched several well-hidden willow and hide lodges in an open area on the north side of a creek in one of its former channels. Thick brush surrounded the camp. Oliver B. Huntington later described the area as "a naturally well fortified place where five men with guns easily could have withstood fifty."[54] Two men went back to guide the horse guard to the forward position. Meanwhile, the advance group kindled small fires to keep from freezing. The men with the horses and their Indian guide arrived about two hours before daybreak.

At dawn 5 March, Barney Ward and Dimick B. Huntington moved toward the camp as the rest of the company, consisting of more than thirty men, divided into four or five small groups and surrounded the encampment to prevent the Indians' escape. The sound of the rushing water muffled some of the noise, but eventually the sounds of cracking brush, sliding earth, and rolling rocks woke up the Indians' dogs who alerted the beleaguered families. The

Indians attempted to escape but found themselves surrounded. In a loud exchange of words, Ward, Huntington, and Little Chief's sons vainly sought to convince the Indians to come out and talk. The renegades steadfastly refused to do this and insisted that the Mormon company should go away or be killed.

According to Huntington, the renegade Indians deemed further talk futile. They gave a piercing war whoop, slapping their mouths with their hands as they yelled, and opened fire with bows and arrows and their only gun. The Mormon company, who had an overwhelming advantage in fire power, loosed a volley that downed Roman Nose. One shot passed through his neck and another blew off the top of his head. According to Oliver Huntington, the Indian's death "brought forth the most terrible, deafening and really heartrending yells I ever heard come from mortals."[55] The tumultuous wailing lasted about two minutes, the then there was silence.

After the first frenzied volley, the battle slowed. The besieged Utes hid in the almost impenetrable willows below their camp and fought with determined resolution. As the skirmish proceeded, the Utes shouted encouragement to each other and sang songs to bolster their courage. On the pioneer side, Oliver Huntington said the strategy used was "every man take care of himself and as many of the enemy as we could." He said the pioneer men spent a lot of time "sculking in the brush--looking peaking and trying to get a shot."[56] Hosea Stout described Scott's men as being calm and deliberate and wrote that they did not fire at random.[57]

According to Mormon accounts, five or six times during the skirmish the Mormon interpreters beseeched the Indians to surrender or at least send out the women and children so they would not be harmed. Perhaps Oliver Huntington expressed the feelings of most of the company when he wrote, "We hoped more to hold them level until they would surrender than to kill them."[58] In order to help convince the women and children to surrender, Scott tried a new tactic. He gave the order for each man to gather a load of rocks and tighten the circle around the Ute camp. Oliver B. Huntington wrote of the action that followed:

> We could hear the women and men talk and knew just where they were located, and when the circle was sufficiently contracted the order was given for every man to shower the rocks upon them. They soon cried for quarters and all the women and children came out.
>
> That was a new mode of war, a very unexpected and unpleasant way of being killed, but the men preferred the old method.[59]

Some women had crouched in the icy stream where they had hidden for more than an hour. They were very cold. The militiamen built a fire in a protected place and let the children and women, some of whom were bruised and bleeding from the recent rock barrage, warm themselves. Instead of warming herself, one Indian girl, about sixteen or seventeen years of age, sought out interpreter Dimick B. Huntington. She told Huntington that her dearly beloved brother was hiding in the ravine. The young maiden asked if he might be saved. Dimick told her to bring him out and he should live. She returned to the willows in the ravine and came back clinging to a boy about twelve or fourteen years old. She brought him to the interpreter and released her hold on him. He stood straight and dignified before Huntington and said in English, "Go way; what you here for? Go way. . . . You kill my father, my brother—what for? Go way; let us alone. What you here for?"

Huntington answered, "We are here to open your ears so that you will hear. We said to you long time ago, don't kill our cattle. You kill them all the time now—you will hear good. How many guns Indian got down there in the brush?"

The young boy replied one, and Dimick told him to go get it. The Ute replied haughtily, "No, you go get it if you want it."[60]

Oliver Huntington, who was only about a rod away and could "see every wink of the eye and hear every growl," described the scene that followed:

> Dimick took the young brave by the ear, thinking, no doubt, that it was easier to scare him into getting the gun than to get it some other way, and much safer. So he gave the [boy's] ear a vicious pull, and bringing a revolver into prominent position, said: 'You have no good ears to hear. Get me that gun or I will open your ears and you will hear.'[61]

The boy looked Huntington straight in the face for a moment then dropped his eyes and headed for the willows. After some conversation with the Ute men, he returned with the gun and defiantly struck it on the ground with such force that its stock broke off.

Shortly after the gun was surrendered, the three remaining Indian men made a rush for liberty. They were soon cut down by a storm of leaden hail. The last remaining warrior, Blue Shirt, desperately ran toward a group of Timpanogots, led by Stick-in-the-Head, who were gathered on a hill above the camp watching the fray and yelling encouragement to the harried Utes. Oliver Huntington claimed Blue Shirt "was running at the speed of a horse [when he] fell from a shot which unjointed his neck."[62] His victors later counted eighteen bullet holes in his corpse.

The skirmish lasted about four hours. Scott's horse company, who outnumbered the Ute men nearly three to one and had vastly superior arms, killed four renegade Indians. Some of the Mormon party had holes through their clothing, but they suffered no casualties, even though the Indians shot hundreds of arrows and fired some rifle balls at them.

When the pioneers searched the Indian camp, they found ample evidence that the renegades had been stealing cattle. Oliver Huntington remembered that the spoils in the camp "consisted of about a wagon load of dried beef, beef hides, green and dry; and lariats in every state of manufacture, to perfection itself."[63] Everything was left in camp except the captured gun. The bodies of the four dead men were collected for burial, and then the Mormon posse left for their horses which were being guarded in a safe location west of the site of the skirmish.

As soon as Little Chief heard the first shots, he left his camp on Provo River and rushed for the battlefield. His horse was soaked with sweat, and he was wet with tears when he arrived at the scene of the skirmish. The chief was saddened when he saw the sorry end the renegades had met, but he conceded that the Mormon posse had done right. He made little effort to hold back his emotions. Concerning this, Oliver Huntington wrote, "The old man howled, cried, moaned[,] hollowed, screamed and Smote his breast in the greatest agony of mind he came to us. He blamed himself and cursed the whites."[64] The chief's agony seems understandable given the fact that he had been forced to make a no-win decision. Either option promised pain. He chose what he considered to be the lesser of two evils when he imperiled several of his associates to save the main faction of his band from harm.

Even in his agony, Little Chief had a parting word of warning about the teenaged boy Scott's men had let go. Hosea Stout recorded the warning in his diary. "He [Little Chief] also said we did wrong in not killing the lad for he would kill a white man yet for revenge."[65] Little Chief may have been worried that the boy's future actions could bring trouble to the chief's village on Provo River.

Oliver Huntington later penned his feelings about the objectives and results of the expedition. "We only wanted to stop their men stealing our cattle and teach all the indians around us, a lasting lesson. There was not an individual in our company injured in the whole fracuss [*sic*] and the lesson was well understood by all the surrounding indians."[66]

Indeed, the Indians of Utah Valley learned a lesson, but for some of them it seems to have been from a different book than the one Huntington and the posse lectured from. A smoldering and enduring hatred for white men kindled in the hearts of Old Elk, Stick-in-the-Head, and some of the other Timpanogots who watched from the hillside as the cattle-stealing Indians were relentlessly shot down that morning. This hatred coupled with a yearning for revenge must have been two of the factors that caused some of the Timpanogots to resist the establishment of Fort Utah less than a month later. In a little over a year, these heated feelings, fanned by several unfortunate occurrences, ignited the biggest Indian battle fought within the current boundaries of the State of Utah.

Endnotes

1. High Council of Great Salt Lake City, Minutes, 26 February 1848, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

2. Daniel Spencer, Journal, 1 March 1848, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

3. Ibid., 6 March 1848.

4. High Council of Great Salt Lake City to Brigham Young, 6 March 1848, Brigham Young Office Files, LDS Church Archives.

5. Edmund Ellsworth to Brigham Young, March 1848, Brigham Young Office Files.

6. Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 5 March 1848, 1, LDS Church Archives (hereafter cited as Journal History).

7. John Bennion to Hannah Berry, 5 March 1848, as quoted in Harden Bennion, *The Bennion Family of Utah* (n.p.: Samuel Bennion, 1931), 35.

8. High Council of Great Salt Lake City, Minutes, 20 February 1848.

9. Ibid., 2 April 1848.

10. Spencer, Journal, 2 April 1848.

11. Oliver Boardman Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, typescript, 2 vols., 2:46, LDS Church Archives.

12. Salt Lake Stake, Minutes, 12 March 1848, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

13. High Council of Great Salt Lake City to Brigham Young, 6 March 1848; High Council of Great Salt Lake City, Minutes, 6 March 1848.

14. Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–1869* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 15 fn 5.

15. Willard Snow to Erastus Snow, 6 October 1847, LDS Church Archives.

16. High Council of Great Salt Lake City to Brigham Young, 6 March 1848; High Council of Great Salt Lake City, Minutes, 6 March 1848.

17. Salt Lake Stake, Minutes, 12 March 1848.

18. Spencer, Journal, 16 March 1848.

19. Levi Ritter, to An old acquaintance in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 15 January 1848, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

20. Isabella Horne,"In Early Days: Home Life in the Pioneer Fort," *Juvenile Instructor* 29 (March 1894): 184.

21. Salt Lake Stake High Council, Minutes, 21 October 1848.

22. Salt Lake City High Council, Minutes, 1 April 1848.

23. Salt Lake Stake High Council, Minutes, 1 April 1848.

24. Ibid., 21 October 1848.

25. Levi Jackman, Journal, 19 April 1848, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Perry Special Collections).

26. Levi Jackman, Journal, 19 April 1848, hand-written copy of original, LDS Church Archives (hereafter cited as Jackman, Journal 2). Apparently, at a later date Jackman or some unknown person made a copy of his journal. The wording is different

in some cases from the original. The spelling in both the original and the copy is very interesting.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Joseph Harker, Reminiscences and Journal, May 1848, LDS Church Archives.

30. Ibid.

31. Neither Jackman nor Harker mention any reasons for their failure to catch fish. Their silence leaves the matter open to speculation. Jackman and Pierce apparently fished with hook and line along the lake's eastern shore, where tributaries enter. The party arrived in mid-April, which was possibly before the spawning season began. Numerous fish may not have been present, but vast numbers of visiting Utes probably had not gathered in the valley anticipating the fish run either. Jackman says nothing about being harassed by the Timpanogots or other visiting bands. It seems that the two pioneer fishermen should have been successful. Perhaps they were not proficient anglers, or maybe a fishing trip provided a good excuse to get out of the cabin and do some exploring.

The group Harker accompanied arrived during the spawning season, and they fished with a net. However, they fished on the west side of the lake, and the spawners would have been moving toward the tributaries along the eastern shore. If the men had fished near the mouths of the streams on the eastern shore, they would have likely caught many fish. They would have also come in contact with numerous Utes. In his diary, John D. Lee wrote that the Timpanogots were very adamant about their ownership of the fish in Utah Lake and the streams of Utah Valley. Perhaps the pioneer fishermen stayed away from the eastern shore to minimize chances of a confrontation with the Utes. John D. Lee, Diary, 10 March 1849, as quoted in Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee 1848–1876*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983) 1:100–101 (hereafter cited as Lee, Diary).

32. Journal History, 5 September 1848, 4.

33. Jackman, Journal 2, 20 April and 10 May 1848; Great Salt Lake City High Council, Minutes, 14 and 27 May 1848; Spencer, Journal, 24–26 May 1848.

34. Norma Baldwin Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion: U.S. Army of the West, 1846–1848* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 264–65.

35. S. George Ellsworth, *Utah's Heritage* (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrin Smith, 1972), 55–57.

36. Spencer, Journal, 16 December 1848.

37. Lee, Diary, 6 January 1849.

38. Journal History, 6 January 1849, 1.

39. Thomas Bullock, Journal, 7 January 1849, typescript, LDS Church Archives. The committee consisted of Amasa M. Lyman, Orrin P. Rockwell, George D. Grant, Jedediah M. Grant, David Fullmer, John S. Fullmer, Lewis Robison, Dimick B. Huntington, William Crosby and George W. Boyd.

40. Ibid., 12 January 1849; Journal History, 20 January 1849, 1; Lee, Diary, 6 January 1849. Lee's diary entry covers several days. It contains information covering the time period from 6–10 January.

41. Journal History, 6 January 1849, 1.

42. Perhaps the committee planned to follow their orders later after the weather moderated, but found that by the time March arrived, plans for a permanent settlement had already been formulated. It is possible that they located the best area for fishing but the rapid series of events that led to colonization did not allow them the time to establish a fishery. It is even possible that the three men investigated the fishing possibilities along the lower Provo River and recommended the future site of Fort Utah as a good place for a settlement. The site was obviously well-known; it became the specific destination of the first group of colonizers less than three months later.

43. Zina D. Young, Diary, 19 January 1849, LDS Church Archives. On that date Zina recorded, "(Oliver is gone on a trading expidition among the indeans)."

44. Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 2:48.

45. Ibid., 49.

46. Ibid., 50–51; Don Carlos Johnson, *A Brief History of Springville, Utah, From its First Settlement September 18, 1850, to the 18th Day of September 1900* (Springville, Utah: William F. Gibson, 1900), 1–2.

47. Oliver Boardman Huntington, Papers, 10 vols., 10:27, Perry Special Collections. Volume 10 is Huntington's original handwritten journal.

48. Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 2:52–53.

49. Hosea Stout, Diary, 1 March 1849, as quoted in Hosea Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, 2 vols., ed. Juanita Brooks (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 2:344 (hereafter cited as Stout, Diary).

50. Stout, Diary, 4 March 1849.

51. Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 2:53.

52. John Zimmerman Brown, comp., *Autobiography of Pioneer John Brown 1820–1896* (Salt Lake City: Publisher's Press, 1981), 103.

53. Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 2:53.

54. Oliver B. Huntington, "The Indians Fought," *Deseret News Weekly*, 26 June 1897, 49–50.

55. Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 2:336.

56. Ibid., 2:54.

57. Stout, Diary, 5 March 1849.

58. Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 2:337.

59. Huntington, "The Indians Fought," 49–50.

60. Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 2:338.

61. Huntington, "The Indians Fought," 49–50.

62. Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 2:55.

63. Ibid., 2:419.

64. Ibid., 2:55.

65. Stout, Diary, 5 March, 1849.

66. Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 2:55.

CHAPTER 5

Founding Fort Utah

A SMALL GROUP OF HOME SEEKERS ESTABLISHED FORT Utah, later officially named Provo, with impressive rapidity after Captain John Scott's men taught the Timpanogots Utes a "lasting lesson" at Battle Creek. After delaying a settlement in Utah Valley for almost a year and a half, it took colonizers only three weeks to make plans for the settlement, select leaders, organize a colonizing company, and arrive at the settlement site.

Brigham Young undoubtedly wanted a colony near Utah Lake, but he was not anxious for colonists to go there as early as the spring of 1849. The enthusiasm which spurred this rapid settlement of Fort Utah seems to have evolved more from profit motives than from the prophet's motives. Also, the fervor for a colony on the Provo River seems to have originated from the common man rather than from the leaders. Abundant pasturage had already enticed a few herders into the northern part of the valley. Fertile land and ample water for irrigation and power attracted the attention of farmers and craftsmen.

According to George A. Smith, the substantial fish population of Utah Lake also played a large part in luring settlers to the valley, apparently before the leaders felt comfortable about colonizing it. Only a few years after the settlement was established at Fort Utah, Smith told a Provo audience how fishermen influenced the founding of the colony.

> The settlement of Provo at the time when it was made was a little like a child born out of due time. . . . it had been discovered that there were fish in Utah Lake, and so a number of the old Nauvoo fishermen

> wanted to come here and establish a fishery. . . . these old fishermen wanted to come and continued to tease the President [Brigham Young] for his sanction. He finally gave consent.[1]

The actions of Alexander Williams also played an important part in the abrupt settlement of Utah Valley. Williams was born in 1803 in Georgia and spent his formative years in the South. He developed into an energetic, brave, headstrong, independent young man who left home at an early age to battle life on his own. Williams married in 1824, became a Mormon in 1833, lived in various places in Missouri, Illinois, and Iowa, and then came west with the Brigham Young's company when the Mormon President left Winter Quarters to return to the Great Basin in 1848.[2]

On his trip west, Williams served as a captain of ten men, and his independent spirit was not always appreciated by church leaders. On 18 July 1848, Thomas Bullock wrote in his journal, "Alexander Williams and his company ran away from our camp and crossed the [Platte] river by doubling teams about 10 A.M. His has always been the most refractory company, going contrary to the laws of the camp."[3] Williams apparently saw some advantages for his company of ten to cross the Platte River and travel on their own. He pursued this course without permission.

The Salt Lake City High Council appointed Alexander's twenty-two-year old son, Thomas S. Williams, to be an Indian trader in 1847, and after Alexander arrived in Salt Lake Valley, he joined Thomas on some of his trading expeditions. On these trips, Alexander acquainted himself with Utah Valley and the Timpanogots Utes. He must have been favorably impressed with the resources of the valley and the possibilities of the Indian trade.

When men were called to accompany John Scott on his expedition to discipline the cattle-stealing Indians of Utah Valley early in 1849, Alexander went in place of his son.[4] He participated in the Battle Creek skirmish. It was the Indian custom for the women and children of the vanquished to receive succor from the victors. Following this tradition, the widows and orphans of the Indian men who were killed at Battle Creek traveled to Salt Lake City and threw themselves upon the mercy of the Mormons. Williams witnessed their plight. He apparently thought that by taking these unfortunates back to Utah Valley and teaching them to farm and live the white man's way of life, he could secure land for himself in the valley and further develop his trade with the Utes who lived near Utah Lake.

On 9 March 1849, just three days after Scott's posse returned from Battle Creek, Alexander Williams announced the news that he was "going to farm in Utah Valley—take some Cows for Pres. [Brigham] Young & instruct the Women

& Children—the W[i]d[ow]s. [and] Orphans of the Four Indians killed last Monday—to farm &c."[5] It seems that Williams had previously urged his plan on Brigham Young since the pioneer entrepreneur had agreed to take some of the Mormon president's cows to Utah Valley, but to most people, Williams' declaration must have come like a thunderbolt from the blue. With the exception of the 6 January 1849 meeting when a committee was appointed to establish a fishery on Utah Lake and the possibility of sending forty or fifty men to Utah Valley with a herd of cattle was discussed, minutes of Salt Lake City High Council meetings held in January and February contain no evidence that preliminary plans for the establishment of a colony in Utah Valley were being made.

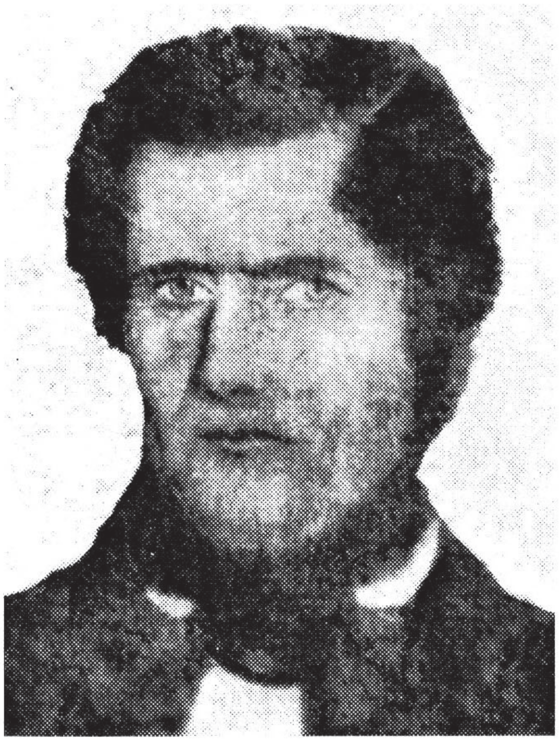

FIGURE 25

Alexander Williams traded with the Utes in Utah Valley. *He instigated the settlement of Fort Utah when he announced that he was leaving Salt Lake City to take up farming in Utah Valley.* PIONEERS AND PROMINENT MEN.

Williams' announcement caught the attention of President Young's councilors, LDS Church apostles, and the Salt Lake City High Council. Even though Brigham Young and these high church leaders apparently did not think the time was right for a settlement in Utah Valley, when Williams made his intentions to settle near Utah Lake public, he nudged the leaders into condoning the establishment of a new colony there. Church authorities seem to have harbored negative feelings about being pressured into allowing what they considered to be the premature establishment of the initial colony in Utah Valley, but they apparently saw approval of the colony as the best course to take if they wished to maintain some influence over the new settlement. James A. Little, who later became a member of Salt Lake City's high council, revealed his opinion of the premature colonization of Utah Valley and its results when he wrote, "The fact that the first settlers of Provo went without the advice of the recognized authorities of the people, was proof that they were not the proper persons to plant a successful colony among savages. They became too much on an equality with the barbarians."[6] Alexander Williams had unknowingly laid the cornerstone of Provo's future reputation for being a disobedient, uncooperative, individualistic, malcontent, recalcitrant, rowdy colony.

The day after Williams' announcement, the high council met at Heber C.

Kimball's house and discussed the possibility of thirty families going to Utah Valley. The report John D. Lee penned of the meeting shows that once the decision to found a colony near Utah Lake had been made, Mormon leaders tried to make the best of it. He wrote:

> The buisiness [sic] before the House, the policy of sending some 30 Families to the utauh valley to setle & put in spring crops, open a fishery, introduce schools, teach the Natives how to cultivate the Soil, raise catle, & in fine to improve their Morals, to make Fishers of them, & then the Saints can buy the Fish of them for a trifle, which will preserve their feelings good as they claim the right to the Fish.[7]

The leaders realized that if the settlement in Utah Valley were to coexist with the Utes, the Indians' feelings had to be "preserved," and the settlers had to make an effort to convert the Utes to the Mormon way of life.

Members of the council suggested some men who might be interested in settling among the Timpanogots near Utah Lake. Among others, they mentioned three Nauvoo fishermen, William S. Wordsworth and Johns S. and Isaac Higbee; an Indian interpreter, Dimick B. Huntington; and the Indian trader Alexander Williams and one of his sons, Francis.[8]

Again on 12 March church leaders discussed the potential colony in Utah Valley during one of their meetings. In an apparent effort to put a positive spin on the colonizing of Utah Valley, Brigham Young pointed out two advantages to those who stayed in Salt Lake Valley. If thirty men who owned land in the big field left Salt Lake City, it would leave room for thirty men who had not yet received land in that settlement. Landless families could also cultivate the city lots of those who left.[9]

At this early date in Utah's history, the leaders had not yet formulated a set plan that they could follow when establishing new settlements. Hence, the colonizing of Fort Utah differed in a number of ways from the establishment of some of the later colonies like St. George, Richfield, and Bluff. For instance, it seems that the men who went to Utah Valley with the first colonizing company were not called to go, but volunteered. During the 12 March meeting, Brigham Young stated that thirty men would "be called up [and] notified,"[10] but the next day the Mormon leader "gave orders for the Co[mpany] intending to go to Utah [Valley] to meet"[11] that evening at 6:00 P.M. From these last notes, it appears that men were being informed that a colony was about to be established, and they could go if they wished.

At any rate, on the evening of 13 March 1849, Young's office filled with people who wanted to help found a new colony near Utah Lake. Thomas Bullock, the scribe on this occasion, wrote, "agreed that 29 would go—they adjourned to meet on Thursday eve at Dimic Huntington —after choosing John S. Higbee for President & Bishop—Isaac Higbee 1st Councillor & Dimic Huntington 2nd Co."[12] Bullock's minutes indicate that the members of the colonizing company and not church officials chose the leaders of the future settlement at Fort Utah. Brigham Young's history substantiates this view. An entry recorded 17 March 1849 reads in part:

> I [Brigham Young] attended Council on the 17th. The names of a company of thirty three, [Apparently four more heads of households had decided to join the colonizing company since the last recorded meeting.] who were going to settle in Utah Valley, were read. The company, a few days previously, had chosen John S. Higbee for President and bishop, Isaac Higbee for first Counsellor, and D.B. Huntington second counsellor.[13]

John D. Lee supplies us with more information about the 17 March meeting. He wrote in his diary, "The Names of those that were candidates for the Eutah vally were Read making about 33 heads of Familys."[14] Lee also reveals that Brigham Young said he and some of the council "would likely go to the vally to select a Place for the setling of this small colony, & probobly would be gone Some 6 day."[15] This would have been Young's first visit to Utah Valley, but the trip did not materialize.[16]

The future colonists used the next two weeks to prepare for their coming task. The day they began their journey to Utah Valley and the day they arrived at the settlement site on Provo River remained a mystery for many years. Apparently, none of Provo's founding fathers kept a journal or a diary during this period, for none has been found. Unfortunately, Fort Utah is not mentioned in either the LDS Journal History or the available notes covering meetings attended by Brigham Young and other church leaders in Salt Lake City for the period dating from 18 March to 8 April when the new colony is mentioned again. These sources fail to mention anything about the colonizing effort or the date the settlers arrived

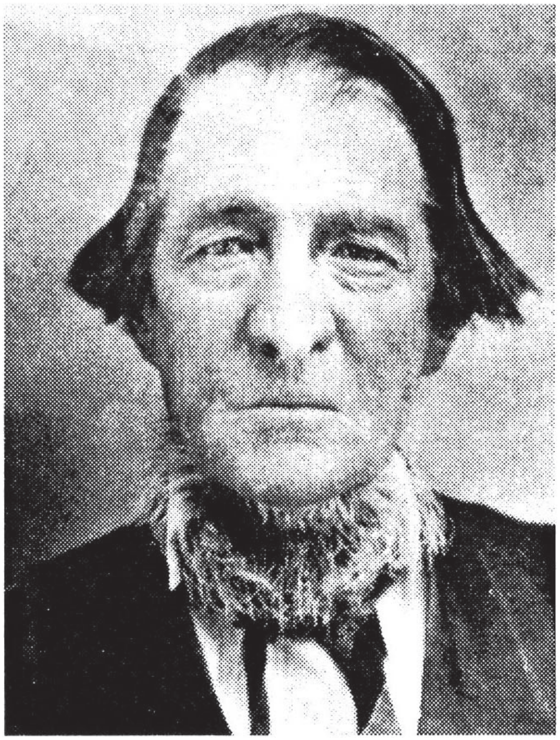

FIGURE 26

John S. Higbee became president of the colonizing company destined for Fort Utah and also served as the settlement's initial bishop. *Because the colony was to be established near the Provo River and Utah Lake, the colonists deemed Higbee's previous experience as a commercial fisherman to be invaluable to the settlement.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

at the site of the future colony.

Past historians have expressed varied opinions about when the colonists arrived on the banks of Provo River. For reasons unknown, early Utah historians Edward W. Tullidge, Orson F. Whitney, Andrew L. Neff, and Provo historian J. Marinus Jensen all accepted 12 March 1849 as the date for the establishment of Fort Utah. As mentioned earlier, the leaders of the colonizing party were not chosen until 13 March, and the colonists had not left Salt Lake City by that date. Another early Provo historian, John E. Booth, wrote that no settlement was attempted until the latter part of March. In 1942 Utah historian Dale L. Morgan suggested that the date the settlers arrived was 1 April. Morgan based his conclusion on information supplied by George Washington Bean, who stated in his autobiography that the colonizing party made their first camp near Provo River on his birthday, 1 April 1849. Bean stated that the settlers began work on their fort after looking over the country for a day or two.[17]

During the spring of 1968, N. LaVerl Christensen, a Provo journalist and history buff, suggested that Provo Mayor Verl Dixon and the city commissioners should appoint a committee to ascertain which of the suggested settlement dates was correct. Brigham Young University history professors Gustive O. Larson and LeRoy Hafen, along with author Ann W. Hafen and prominent local journalist Theron H. Luke comprised the committee. On 3 March 1969, the committee reported its decision. The members decided Bean's word was the best evidence available; the settlers very likely arrived on 1 April 1849. They did not, however, choose April Fool's Day as the date the\settlement was established. A search of the Provo City Branch Records revealed to them that the settlers began construction of their fort 3 April 1849, and the committee suggested that day was, in their opinion, Provo's official birthday. Mayor Dixon and Provo's commissioners agreed, and the city attorney drew up an ordinance to that effect.[18]

It has since been found that reminiscent accounts other than Bean's also identify 1 April as the date the colonizing party reached Provo River. William Wallace Haws and an anonymous 1894 newspaper article written by one of the surviving settlers of 1849 both claim the settlers arrived 1 April.[19]

Other contemporary accounts substantiate Bean's claim that the colonizing company left later than mid-March. In his journal, Levi Jackman, an early inhabitant of Salt Lake Valley, wrote a summary of important happenings of the spring of 1849. He estimated it was about 1 April when the settlers left for Utah Valley.[20] Zina Diantha Young, plural wife of Brigham Young and sister of Dimick B. Huntington, who was an original settler of Fort Utah, kept a diary during 1849. According to this diary, Zina went to the fort in Salt Lake City on Thursday 29 March 1849 to visit Dimick B. Huntington's family "before they left for Utaw Vally." Zina also wrote, "Sat [31 March] Dimick and Family started for Utaw vally about 1 oclock P.M."[21] Young's entry substantiates George Washington Bean's claim that the colonizers left Salt Lake City during the last days of March, not two weeks earlier.

However, a problem arises from Young's diary keeping. She did not write down a day of the month next to the key Saturday; the next entry, Sunday, is misdated as "31." Sunday was actually 1 April, throwing the dating of the journal off by a day and creating a problem with how many days it took the colonizing party to make the journey to the settlement site. If Dimick B. Huntington left Salt Lake City on Saturday, 31 March, and arrived Sunday, 1 April, then the trip only took him the better part of two days. Beginning with Edward Tullidge in 1884, historians have stated that the trip to Provo River took three days. The date in Zina Young's diary may be incorrect, but it is also possible that some people in the colonizing party made the trip in two days, and others made it in three.

Apparently, none of the members of the colonizing party kept journals, and of six reminiscent accounts dealing with the initial journey to Utah Valley, only George Washington Bean writes anything about how many days the journey took. Bean does not mention when the colonizing company left Salt Lake City. The first camp he alludes to was pitched 31 March, when the party stayed about ten miles north of Provo River near the present location of Pleasant Grove. The next day the company reached Provo River and the future site of Fort Utah. This implies that there was only one camp before the company reached the settlement site.

Before colonizing Utah Valley, Bean's family lived between Mill Creek and Big Cottonwood Creek.[22] If the main colonizing company left Salt Lake City on 30 March, they may have camped that evening on Dry Cottonwood Creek, which was south of the Bean cabin and north of Willow Creek near the current location of Draper. Many later companies traveling south from Salt Lake City spent their first night in that area. The Beans could have started early the next morning, caught the main party, and traveled with them to a place near the future site of Pleasant Grove on 31 March. According to Bean, the colonizing party traveled the last ten miles to the eventual settlement site on 1 April. Apparently some of the settlers who left from Salt Lake City made the journey in three days. Others like the Beans, who seemingly joined the company en route, may have made the trip in two days.

If Zina Young's diary is correct, and Dimick Huntington and his family left Salt Lake City Saturday, 31 March, he and possibly others, also made the trip from Salt Lake City to the Provo River in two days. This would not have been unusual. Many later companies made the trip in that number of days.[23] Regardless of which day Huntington started south, all accounts agree that he was with the colonizing company before it reached Provo River on 1 April.

Historians also disagree on how many families accompanied the original colonizing company to Utah Valley. The varying views on this point range in a full circle. Two historians, Edward W. Tullidge and J. Marinus Jensen, and two members of the original company, John Clark and Robert T. Thomas, all state that about thirty families set out for Utah Valley.[24] However, George Washington Bean, a member of the colonizing company, remembered that there were thirty men but no families came in that group.[25] Provo historian John E. Booth claimed that families didn't arrive until about two weeks after the first company reached Provo River.[26] The anonymous author of an early newspaper article on Provo's settlement appears to have been a member of the first company. The article claims that thirty men and some of their sons made the trek.[27] Peter W. Conover traveled with the first company. He claimed to have brought some of his sons to help clear land and build a cabin. The rest of the family traveled to Fort Utah a little later.[28] LDS Church historian Andrew Jenson and Levi Jackman complete the cycle of views by stating that a number of men in the colonizing party were accompanied by their families.[29]

As can be seen, several members of the first colonizing company made contradictory statements about how many families accompanied the party to Utah Valley. All of their opinions were written many years after the fact. Zina Diantha Young gives us a first hand account of the departure of her brother Dimick from Salt Lake City. She likely penned her entry within several days of the event. According to Young, Dimick's family left with him.[30] It appears that although the original colonizing party to Utah Valley was composed mostly of heads of families and some of their sons, the Huntington family and possibly a few others were also present at the time Fort Utah was established.

The first Utah Valley colonizing company traveled to the Provo River on a well-defined road that had evolved from an Indian trail.[31] The exact route of the trail these colonizers followed is unknown, but using territorial maps generated in the 1850s, one can ascertain their approximate path.[32] Generally speaking, the colonizers traveled southward through present Salt Lake County on what became U.S. Highway 91 or State Street. They crossed the Point of the Mountain near where Interstate-15 passes over it today.[33]

The caravan descended into Utah Valley moving in a southeasterly direction, still following the route of the later highway. At the current location of Pleasant Grove, the settlers chose to take a lowland trail rather than travel over the dry bench where Orem now sprawls. Now they followed the approximate route of Geneva Road, west of the bench but far enough east of the lake to avoid swampy land. As the group approached Provo River, they seem to have turned slightly to the southeast about where Boat Harbor Drive joins Geneva Road. The company forded the Provo River east of Geneva Road near where the railroad tracks currently cross the river east of where I-15 now spans the stream.[34]

On the morning of 1 April 1849, the settlers left their camp near Pleasant Grove for the final leg of their journey to the Provo River. About two-and-half miles north of their destination, the Timpanogots Utes injected some tense and exciting moments into what heretofore seems to have been a rather routine trip. As the wagons slowly bumped along southward, a teenaged Ute brave named Ang-a-Te Wats rode his horse at a gallop across the plain toward them. He threw his arms in the air and gesticulated wildly on his spirited ride. The young horseman reined to a stop and dismounted some fifty to a hundred feet in front of the lead wagon. One reminiscent account says he threw a buffalo robe across the trail; another says he scraped a line across the path with his foot. Both accounts agree that the youth warned the colonists not to proceed past that point. Then he remounted and promenaded back and forth in front of the wagon train shouting at the settlers and threatening them in a most violent and intimidating manner. In all likelihood, the youthful Ute thought the caravan of wagons intended to pass through Utah Valley rather than stop and settle there. Whatever his precise actions, he was probably demanding tribute for the privilege of crossing through Ute land. This demand became a common practice of the Utes years before when they opened their land to the trappers and traders.[35]

Being anxious to find out what the Ute wanted, Dimick Huntington rode forward to parlay with the young brave. The Mormon interpreter told the Ute that the great Mormon chief, Brigham Young, had sent the settlers. Huntington said they wished to be friends with the Utes and would do them much good if they were allowed to stay. This was likely a more serious situation than the young brave had imagined. He dashed off to report the news to the band, and the caravan moved slowly and tentatively forward.

A short time later, a large party of Utes led by a war chief, possibly Old Elk, once more approached the advancing column of wagons. Again Huntington and the Utes discussed the matter, the interpreter stressing the advantages that a settlement in the vicinity would offer. The Indians likely felt suspicious and apprehensive due to the recent events near Battle Creek. Finally, the Utes' fears were somewhat allayed when Huntington "was made to raise his right hand and swear by the sun that thay [*sic*] would not drive the Indians from their land."[36] A message to this effect was sent to Little Chief, the head chief of the Timpanogots Utes. Finally, after a tense delay of two or three hours, the Utes allowed the party to proceed to Provo River. John Clark claims to have driven the first wagon across the river and Peter W. Conover is supposed to have been right behind Clark with the second.[37]

Some uncertainty exists as to where the colonists spent their first night after reaching Provo River. Two of the original settlers expressed conflicting points of view. George Washington Bean remembered that the company camped

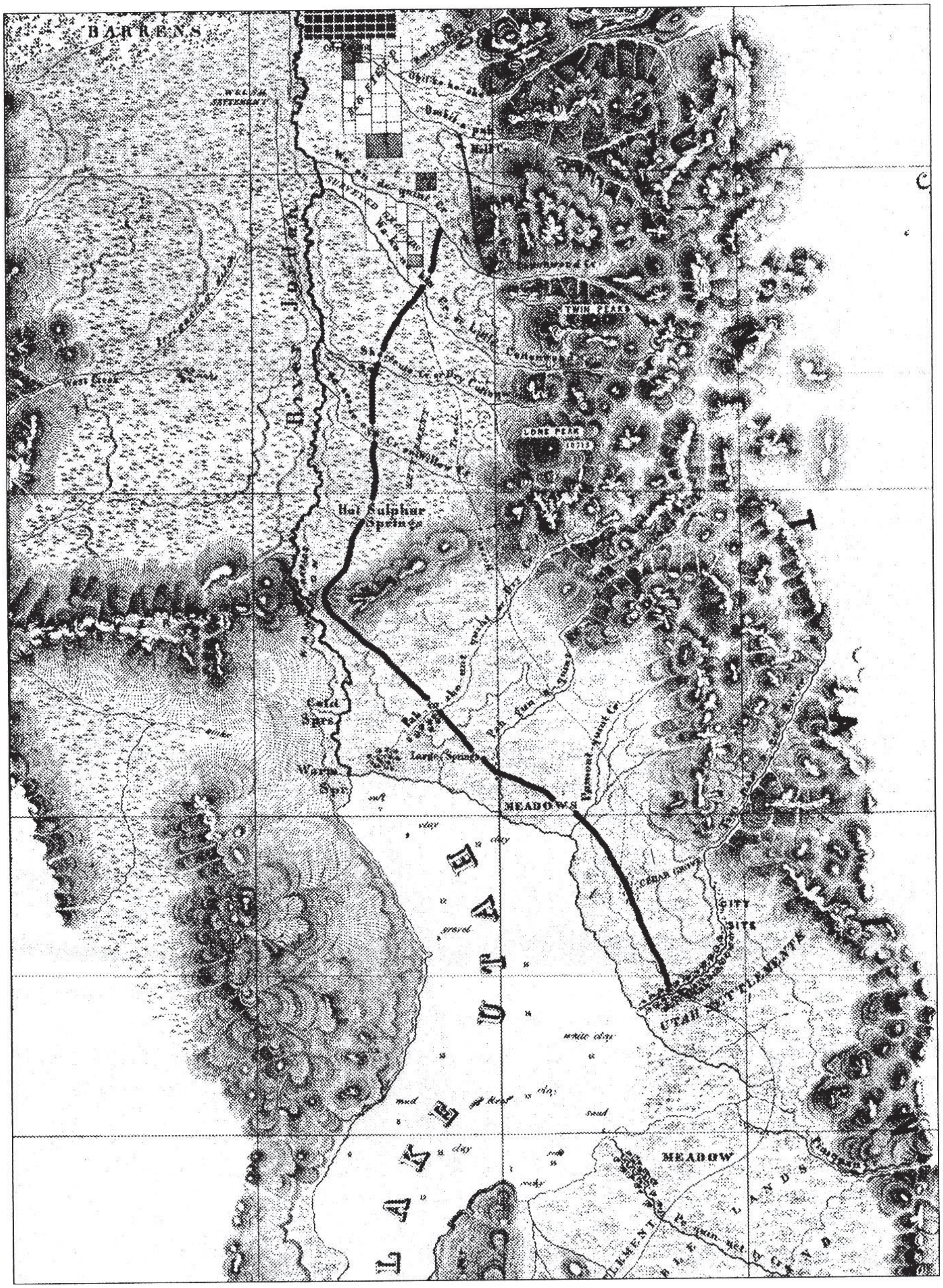
BARRENS
TWIN PEAKS
LONE PEAK
Hot Sulphur Springs
Cold Sprs
Warm Spr
MEADOWS
CEDAR Grove
CITY SITE
UTAH SETTLEMENT
MEADOW
LAKE UTAH

FIGURE 27

Map of the Great Salt Lake and Adjacent Country in the Territory of Utah. *This 1850s map drawn by Lieutenant John W. Gunnison and Charles Preuss shows the approximate route that Provo's first colonists followed from Salt Lake City to the site of Fort Utah in 1849. Most of the route exists today as U.S. Highway 91 and the Geneva Road. The colonists established their fort on the south side of Provo River near where the trail crosses that stream.* HOWARD STANDSBURY, EXPLORATION AND SURVEY OF THE VALLEY OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE OF UTAH.

on the north side of the river. But John Clark said that the party crossed the river and camped on the south side.[38]

This problem cannot be settled with certainty. However, the possibility exists that both men are correct. The Burr map made in 1856 and a 1946 United States Department of Agriculture aerial photograph of the region both show that at one time a north fork of the river left the main stream near the southwestern foot of the Provo Bench. The north fork reentered the main channel of the Provo River some distance west of Geneva Road, creating an island in the stream.[39] If the original settlers spent their first night on this island, they could have crossed a stream, camped on the south side of it, and still have been on the north side of the main river.[40]

After the newcomers chose their campsite, they pulled their wagons into a circle and formed a corral. Then the men unyoked and unharnessed their animals and turned them out to feed safely on the abundant grass found within this enclosure.[41] The men wasted little time taking advantage of the aquatic resources found in the area. Many of them cooked suckers for dinner. George W. Bean ate a special supper in remembrance of his eighteenth birthday. Earlier in the day, he had used his father's rifle to kill a fat crane. The Beans stewed this bird for their celebratory meal.[42]

Unfortunately, the song the Utes sang that afternoon and far into the night was not "Happy Birthday." According to John Clark, as soon as the pioneers began eating their meal, about forty warriors in feathers and paint gathered across the river yelling hideously and giving war whoops. This noise lasted far into the night, and few eyes closed in sleep. Some of the men guarded the animals and others watched for Utes, expecting to be attacked at any moment. When morning finally arrived, interpreter Huntington parlayed with the Utes once more. After several hours, peace was restored, and the Indians left for their village which was then located a mile or so up the river.[43]

It was likely Monday, 2 April, before some of the settlement company acquainted themselves with the country surrounding their campsite. However, Dimick Huntington and a number of other men were already familiar with the area, having visited it several times before. This previous knowledge of the land on the lower Provo River must have helped them select a site for the fort.

The colonizers chose a location about 330 feet west of the trail and the old ford over the Provo River.[44] This site offered several advantages. Rich bottom land extended to the east, south, and west. To the north flowed the Provo River, which provided water for the settlement. A short distance to the east a branch of the Provo, later named Dry Creek, flowed southwest from the parent stream. It provided irrigation water for the farmland located to the east and south of the settlement site. The two streams also provided fish for the settlers and offered a measure of protection from the crickets that were numerous on the bench land to the north and east.[45] According to John Clark, a spring flowed just south of the fort site.[46] Groves of cottonwood and box elder trees grew along the water courses.

The site of the first fort is located on land south of Provo River, east of Geneva Road, west of the railroad tracks, and very close to the river. Provo City erected a granite monument near the site of the old fort in 1999 as part of its sesquicentennial celebration. In a sense, a large segment of the site has become a victim of road rage. Interstate 15 covers most of the old fort's location, but part of it extends out from beneath both sides of the freeway. If Provo's streets bisected the area, the fort site would be located between Provo River and 200 North and between 1700 and 1900 West.[47]

After the site for the fort was selected, construction began 3 April.[48] Workmen found ample building material along the river and at a location about two-thirds of a mile to the west. At that point, on what is now approximately 2800 West, another small creek spilled from the south bank of Provo River. This stream, called Pelican Creek, meandered westward just south of the main river channel and flowed back into the river at about 3400 West.[49] The pioneers named this approximately forty-acre islet created by the two branches of the river, Box Elder Island. Andrew Knudsen, who eventually acquired the part of Box Elder Island that his father homesteaded in the 1870s, described the island

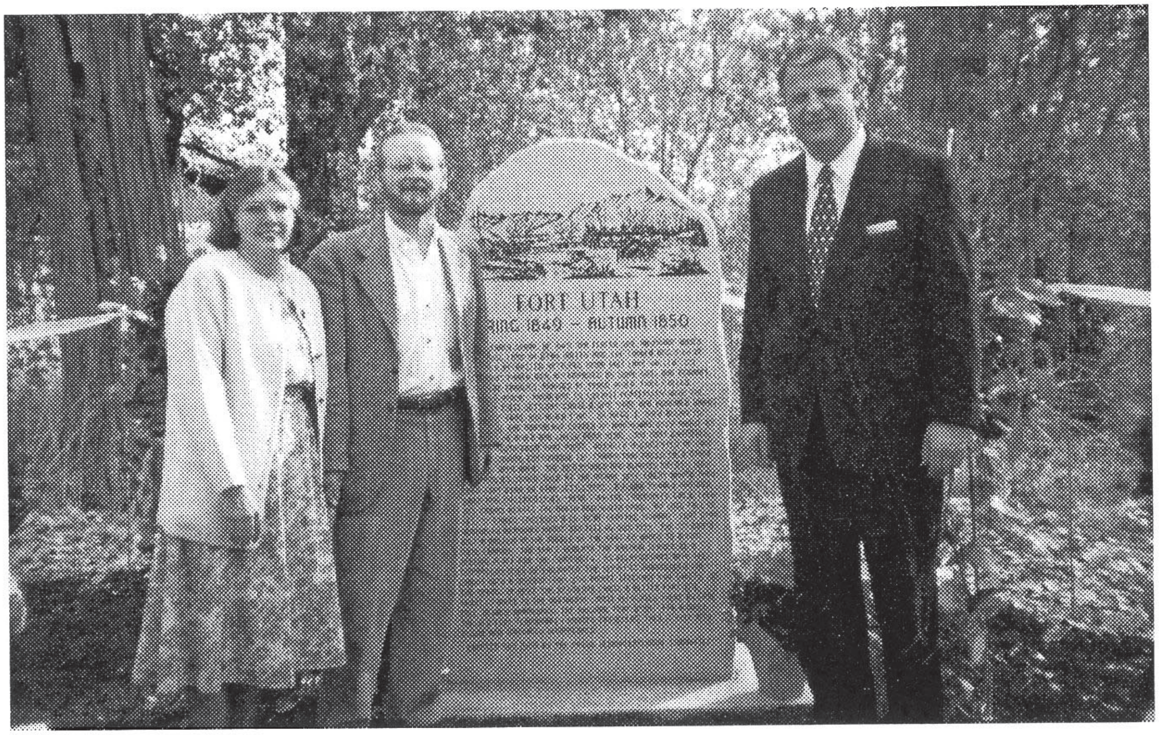

FIGURE 28

As part of its sesquicentennial celebration, Provo City erected this granite monument in 1999 near the site of Fort Utah. *Lyndia and Robert Carter, who found the fort's location, and Provo's Mayor, Lewis K. Billings, stand near the monument on the day it was dedicated.* COURTESY AUTHOR.

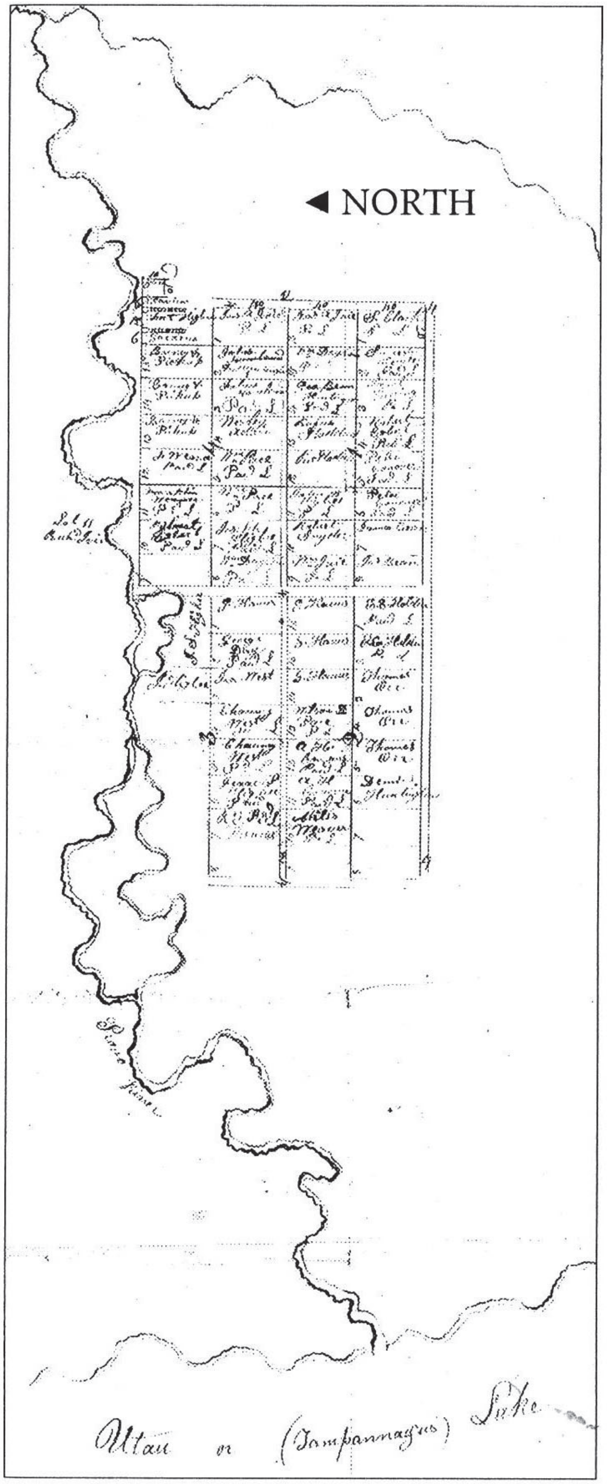

FIGURE 29

This map of the "Utau Settlement" was drawn shortly after the colonists arrived in 1849. *The Fort Field is located near the center of the map. Left of Fort Field, the Provo River flows from east to west. Upstream, Little Dry Creek branches from the river and flows south. Downstream, the river branches and reunites to form Box Elder Island before it empties into Timpanogos or Utah Lake.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

as being "covered with heavy growth of boxelder willows and trees and grass as dense and thick as a jungle."[50] It was from this "jungle," which is now fertile, treeless, productive farm land, that the pioneers cut many of the box elder logs they used in the construction of their fort.[51]

The form and size of the fort, which was variously called Fort Higbee, Utah Settlement, Utah Fort or, more commonly, Fort Utah, evolved during its short existence of approximately two years. As the settlement grew in population, the fort grew with it. Unfortunately, no known contemporary description of the fort's earliest form exists. However, several reminiscent accounts describe the fort, and a hand-drawn contemporary map recently found in the LDS Church Archives details its shape, size, and orientation.

The "Utau Settlement map," which was likely drawn in late April or early May 1849, provides the earliest known depiction of Fort Utah. It shows two parallel rows of eleven cabins facing each other and oriented approximately north and south. The cabins in each row either join each other or are built very close together forming the outside wall of the fort. An opening that appears to be a gate creates a gap near the center of each row of cabins. Gardens grow outside each cabin row. The settlers had not yet built habitations along the north and south ends of the fort, but a general stock corral stands not far outside what eventually became the fort's northeast corner. Judging from the size of the fort, the corral measures about 165 feet square.[52]

Reminiscent accounts add further details. George Washington Bean remembered that after the north and south ends of the fort were closed, the completed structure measured about 165 x 330 feet. The rectangle of cabins enclosed an open area of approximately an acre and a half in the middle of which was an elevated mound.[53] Bean also stated that most of the cabins were built with cottonwood logs, and the fort builders filled the few gaps existing between the habitations by setting close-fitting, twelve-foot-long pickets securely in the ground, thus creating a continuous protective wall.[54] Robert T. Thomas claimed the colonizers finished this initial enclosure in six weeks.[55]

Most of the settlers worked cooperatively to cut and haul logs and build cabins measuring about sixteen feet square.[56] These cabins often contained one or two small windows covered with cloth, leather, or greased paper since the colonists lacked the luxury of having glass. Peter W. Conover, Samuel Clark, and a few other men brought enough sons and relatives to form their own construction crews. Conover and his sons finished and occupied the first family cabin.[57]

Samuel Clark, three of his sons, John, Joseph, and Riley; and a son-in-law, Miles Weaver, finished their cabin shortly after the Conovers completed theirs and then brought the rest of Samuel's large family from Salt Lake Valley to the newly established fort. Clark's daughter, Anna, recalled the cabin and their crowded condition. She later wrote:

> Our house within the fort, like the others, was built of logs, with dirt roof, bare ground floor and fireplace. Although, we did get an old-fashioned stove later. But we were very proud of our new home, in which Father and Mother and all of us nine children, along with Miles [Weaver] and Sarah, all piled in together that first winter—12 of us. The next summer Miles and Sarah built them a cabin by themselves.[58]

A high level of activity and motion certainly prevailed during the first several weeks after the colonists arrived. In addition to laboring on their cabins, the men cleared land and prepared it for cultivation. The "Utau Settlement map" in the church archives shows that within about a month a band of farmland approximately a mile long and a half mile wide ran east and west along the south bank of Provo River just below the fort. Settlers referred to this plot of farmland as Fort Field, a name that is still associated with the section of Provo that lies south and west of the fort site.

The 1849 map shows that workmen developed roads to give the farmers easy access to their farmland. Roads sixty-six feet wide skirted the east, south, and west edges of the field. The close proximity of the farmland to the river made it impossible for the men to run a road along the northern edge of the plot. Two other roads of the same width ran through the middle of the field, one running from north to south, and the other running from east to west.

Surveyors divided Fort Field into fifty-eight lots of five acres each. The fort occupied part of one plot, and the colonists set aside another plot as a cemetery. At the time the map was completed, twenty-nine heads of households and three of their sons had claimed fifty-two of the plots; some of the men claimed more than one farm lot. Four pieces of land had not yet been claimed when the map was finished.

Since no known contemporary list of Fort Utah's first settlers exists, it is fortunate that a clerk or a surveyor penned the owner's name on each piece of claimed farmland. This inventory of landowners provides our most reliable, if still somewhat incomplete, list of Fort Utah's original adult male settlers.[59]

It appears that at least one of the first male colonists had not claimed land in Fort Field by the time the map was drawn. Alexander Williams' name does not appear on the map although it is a virtual certainty that he was one of the original settlers. Perhaps he planned to earn his living in some other manner like trading with the Utes or by helping the Indians establish a communal farm. Also, he may have been absent on a trading expedition or delivering a message to Salt Lake City when the land was apportioned to claimants. The names of other original colonists do not appear on the map as well. Joseph and Riley G. Clark came in the first group with their father, Samuel. Other heads of households who came early but whose names do not appear on the map were Jefferson Hunt, John Park, and Jehu [pronounced Jay-Hugh] Blackburn.

In April 1849, Fort Field appeared to be a work in progress with the different plots in various stages of readiness for cultivation. Ownership of the land changed continuously as new settlers arrived and others departed. Some of the men who claimed more than one plot may have turned their extra land over to newly arriving families. A number of farmers may have subdivided their five-acre plots and shared them with newcomers. Before the summer ended, there was such a demand for land that the men opened a new and larger field to the south of the fort and then another field to the southeast.

How much land was under cultivation at any one time is difficult to ascertain. The Provo Branch Record, also called the Early History of Provo, offers some information on this topic. The history states that by 15 May 1849 about forty families had sowed their small grain and planted most of their corn.[60] The small number of husbandmen made good progress during April and the first half of May.

Sometime during the spring, Jehu Blackburn established the young settle-

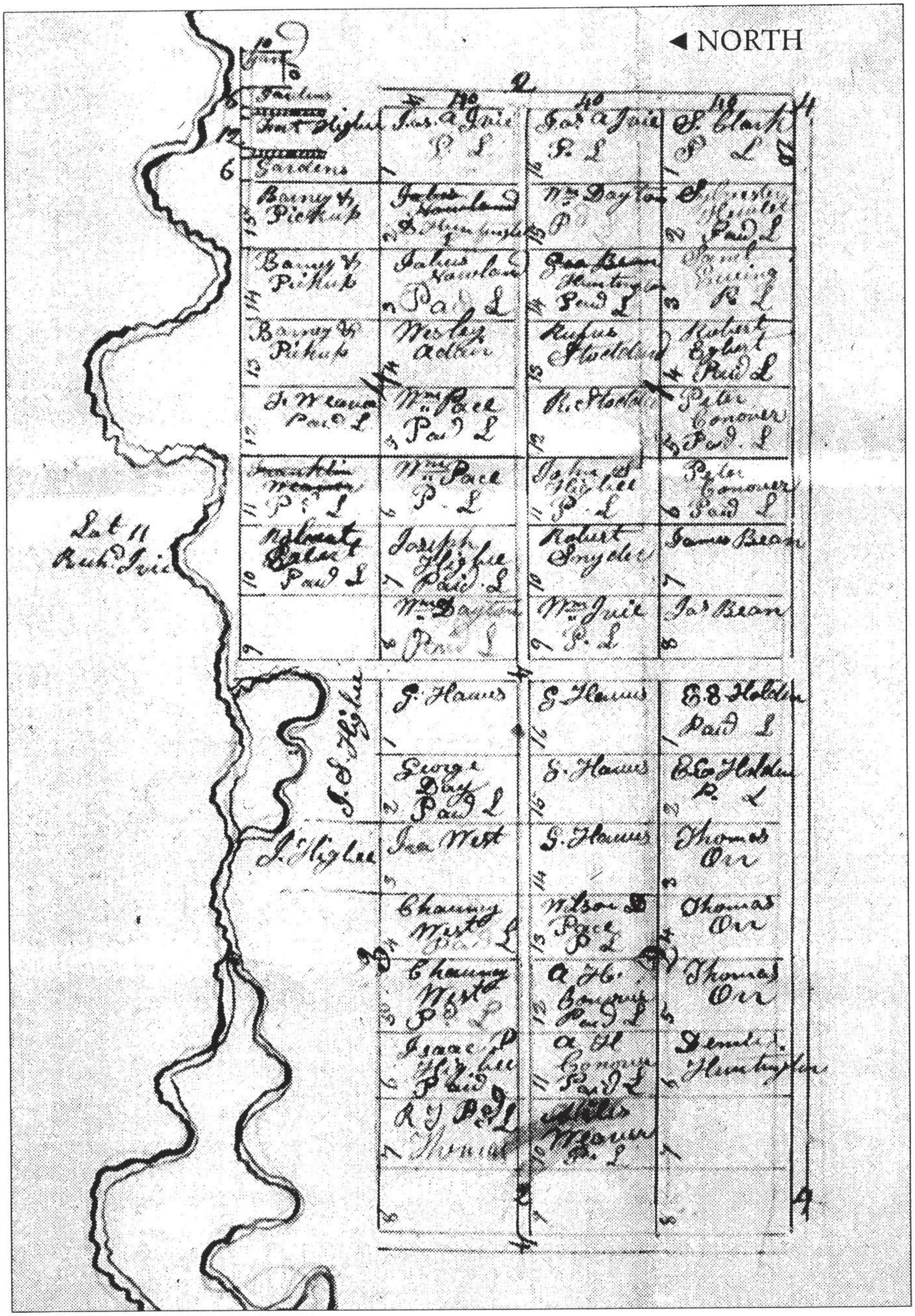
◄ NORTH
Gardens
Gardens
Jas. A. Ivie
P L
Jas A Ivie
P L
S. Clark
P L
Barney & Pickup
Wm Dayton
P
Barney & Pickup
Geo Bean Huntington
Paid L
Barney & Pickup
Rufus Stoddard
Robert Egbert
Paid L
Wm Pace
Paid L
Peter Conover
Paid L
Wm Pace
P L
John Higbee
P L
Peter Conover
Paid L
Lot 11
Richd Ivie
Robert Snyder
James Bean
Joseph Higbee
Paid L
Wm Dayton
Paid L
Wm Ivie
P L
Jas Bean
G. Haws
G. Haws
E. E. Holden
Paid L
George Day
Paid L
G. Haws
E. E. Holden
P L
J. S. Higbee
J. Higbee
Ira West
G. Haws
Thomas Orr
Chauncy West
Thomas Orr
Chauncy West
P L
Thomas Orr
Isaac P Higbee
Paid
A. H. Conover
Paid L
Daniel Huntington
Thomas

FIGURE 30

This map of "Utau Settlement" shows a closer view of Fort Utah and Fort Field. *Fort Utah is located in the upper left-hand corner of Fort Field. The community corral is situated above the fort. Each farm plot is labeled with the name of its owner.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

ment's first sawmill.[61] This primitive affair was a pit saw not a water-powered mill. Young Jane Park saw this contraption near the fort. She later wrote, "I remember a saw pit there and two men sawing, one standing on the log and one below in the pit."[62] Later in the fall John Porter and Alexander Williams build a water-powered sawmill.[63] This faster, easier, more efficient and more versatile mill replaced the slow, labor-intensive pit saw.

Another early industry came into existence later in Fort Utah's first year. In addition to working his farmland, Samuel Clark and his sons labored on the construction of a tannery. Clark, who had served a seven-year apprenticeship as a tanner, began work on a tannery in Salt Lake City. He abandoned that project when friends convinced him to travel with the initial settlement company to Utah Valley. After setting up equipment all spring and summer, the tannery near Fort Utah was ready for production in the fall.

In a sense, tanning developed into a community project. Men and boys broke a trail up Provo Canyon to about Bridal Veil Falls. Because of the uncertainty of the Indian situation, armed guards kept watch in the front and rear of the working parties as they entered the canyon. Lumbermen felled coniferous trees, trimmed them, cut them into logs, and floated them down the Provo River to the mouth of the canyon. At this point, workmen stripped the bark from the logs, placed the bark on a maple log with a sharp edge on top, and hammered the bark to prepare it for use in the tanning process. Clark and his sons placed the processed bark on wagons and hauled it to the tannery where the lengthy process of soaking and curing leather began. According to Edward Tullidge, it was here that the first leather in Utah was produced.[64]

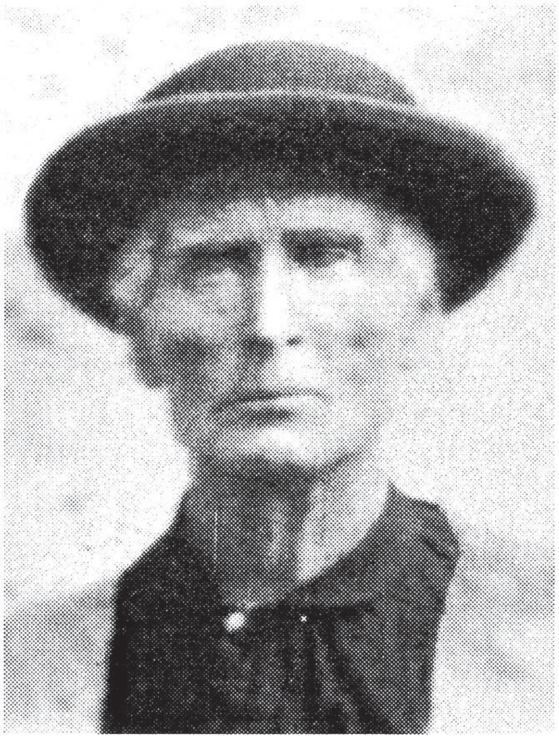

FIGURE 31

Samuel Clark, one of the original settlers of Fort Utah, established Utah Valley's first tannery in 1849. *He produced his tannic acid from the bark of trees taken from Provo Canyon. Clark also made shoes.* PIONEERS AND PROMINENT MEN.

To prepare a hide took about 45 days. The demand for leather out paced its production and craftsmen often used leather that was not completely cured. People were forced to tolerate loose, flabby shoes during the winter and hard, stiff footwear during the summer. Some even made shoes of uncured hides with the fur side inside. In addition to tanning leather, Samuel Clark also made a few shoes. He worked as a tanner in the summer and a cobbler in the winter. In his spare time, when he made shoes for his own family, he started with the oldest child and worked downward to the youngest. Sometimes the youngest children didn't receive their new shoes until well into the winter season. Even after the tannery eventually failed, Clark continued to make a limited number of shoes until old age forced his retirement.[65]

The small sawmills and the tannery were the only notable businesses that the colonizers established during the initial months of settlement. Other important tasks occupied them. The settlers realized that before it would be possible for them to branch into their specialized occupations, they needed to insure the permanence of the colony. The men labored to finish shelters to protect their families from the weather and worked to establish a dependable source of food. This is how the colonists spent the majority of their time.

Endnotes

1. J.W. [John Woodhouse?], "Recollections of Early Friends," *Juvenile Instructor* 20 (June 1885): 173.

2. Crozier Kimball, "A Biography of Alexander Williams," n.d., 1, typescript in possession of the author.

3. Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 18 July 1848, 1 [hereafter cited as Journal History], Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

4. List of names of men called to go to Battle Creek in 1849, uncatalogued manuscript, LDS Church Archives.

5. Thomas Bullock, Journal, 9 March 1849, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

6. James Amasy Little, "Life of James Amasy Little, 17," typescript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as USHS).

7. John D. Lee, Diary, 10 March 1849, as quoted in John D. Lee, *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee 1848–1876*, 2 vols., eds. Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 1:100–101 (hereafter cited as Lee, Dairy).

8. Ibid., 101.

9. Notes of Early Salt Lake City Meetings, 12 March 1849, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., 13 March 1849.

12. Ibid.

13. The History of the Church, 1835–[ca. 1882], 17 March 1849, 40, LDS Church Archives.

14. Lee, Diary, 17 March 1849.

15. Ibid.

16. In September 1849, Brigham Young paid his first visit to Fort Utah. On that trip he selected a new site for the settlement on higher land further to the east. If the Mormon president had made the proposed exploratory trip in April, he may have saved the settlers the labor of moving the settlement the next year.

17. Flora Diana Bean Horne, comp., *Autobiography of George Washington Bean, a Utah Pioneer of 1847 and His Family Records* (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1945), 46.

18. "Provo City Accepts April 3 as Founding Date," *Provo Daily Herald,* 4 March 1969, 1.

19. "Provo in 1849," *Provo Daily Enquirer,* 27 November 1894; William Wallace Haws, Reminiscence and Diaries, LDS Church Archives.

20. Levi Jackman, Journal, 67, (hereafter cited as Jackman, Original Journal), L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Perry Special Collections).

21. Zina Diantha Young, Diary, 25 and 31 March 1849, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

22. Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean,* 43.

23. It was not uncommon for companies to journey from Salt Lake City to Fort Utah in two days. When Zina Diantha Young visited the fort in August 1849, Allen Huntington drove the wagon. They camped on Dry Creek in Salt Lake Valley the first night after having traveled 15 miles. They made the final 31 miles to the fort the next day. Young, Diary, 13–14 April 1849. When Brigham Young and company visited the fort in September 1849, they made the trip in two days. Thomas Bullock, Notes, 14–15 September 1849, typescript, LDS Church Archives. When Brigham Young revisited the fort in May 1850, the trip took only two days. Historian's Office Journal, 20–21 May 1850, typescript, LDS Church Archives. William B. Lorton, a forty-niner, took only two days on the trail between the two settlements. William B. Lorton, Diary, 25–26 September 1849, typescript, Dale L. Morgan Papers, Manuscripts Division, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. The original journal is in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. In October 1849, Parley P. Pratt left Salt Lake City with a wagon and team on 4 October and arrived at Fort Utah on 5 October. Journal History, 2 October 1849, 2. There were probably many more companies that made the journey in two days than there were companies that made it in three days.

24. Edward W. Tullidge, "History of Provo City," *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* 3 (July 1884): 233; J. Marinus Jensen, *History of Provo, Utah* (Provo, Utah: New Century, 1924), 33; Pearl Clark Yates, comp., "History of John Clark," 1940, 3, typescript in possession of author; Robert T. Thomas, "The Autobiography of Robert T. Thomas as Dictated to His Son William Thomas in 1888 and Found in an Historical Sketch and Genealogy of the Thomas Families, 1888–1895," 52, LDS Church Archives. William Thomas, a son of Robert T. Thomas, stated 26 December 1888 that he wrote most of Robert T. Thomas' history as Robert T. remembered it.

25. Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean,* 46.

26. John E. Booth, "A History of the Provo Fourth Ward," 1901, 1, typescript, Perry Special Collections.

27. "Provo in 1849," 27 November 1894.

28. Peter W. Cownover, Journal, 8, typescript, USHS. Both forms of his last name, Cownover or Conover, are used in various documents.

29. Andrew Jenson, comp., "Manuscript History of Provo City, Utah County, Utah," 4, typescript, LDS Church Archives; Jackman, Original Journal, 67.

30. The possibility exists that Huntington temporarily left his family camped in one of the small settlements in southern Salt Lake Valley and returned for them after Fort Utah had been begun. However, this seems unlikely. By 1849 Huntington's family was surely accustomed to hardship and life on the frontier. Together, they faced the dangers and survived the numerous hardships of trail travel on the long trek to California with the Mormon Battalion. Then, in 1847, the family traveled eastward from California, across the Great Basin, and into Salt Lake Valley. The Huntingtons survived the winter of 1847–48 despite a dearth of provisions. After these experiences together, the Huntingtons were not likely to be separated by the dangers and difficulties to be encountered on the short trip to Utah Valley and during the establishment of the new colony.

31. Parley P. Pratt to Orson Pratt, 8 July 1849, in *Millennial Star* 11 (15 November 1849):342–43. Only four months after Fort Utah's settlement, Parley P. Pratt described the road to the colony as being suitable for travel by carriage.

32. David H. Burr, Map showing the extent of the land surveyed in Utah Territory in 1859, original, LDS Church Archives; David H. Burr, Maps, T6S–R2E and T7S–R2E, Bureau of Land Management Office, Salt Lake City; John W. Gunnison and Charles Preuss, Map of the Great Salt Lake and Adjacent Country, 1849–50, as found in Brigham D. Madsen, ed., *Exploring the Great Salt Lake: The Stansbury Expedition of 1849–50* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund and University of Utah Library, 1989), enclosure.

33. In late 1850 and early 1851, John Martin took several prisoners to the Point of the Mountain to make a new road that would go around the west end of the hill instead of directly over the top of it. The men finished the dugway in several months. When Brigham Young traveled to Utah County in March of 1851, the road had been completed. John Martin, Autobiography, 42, LDS Church Archives; Historian's Office Journal, 18 March 1851.

34. Lyndia Carter and D. Robert Carter, "Finding Fort Utah," 66–68, a copy in the possession of the author. This paper was completed for Provo City in 1999, the culmination of a project to find the site of the original Fort Utah.

35. John R. Alley, Jr., "Prelude to Dispossession: The Fur Trade's Significance for the Northern Utes and Southern Paiutes," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (spring 1982): 114.

36. Robert T. Thomas, "Autobiography of Robert T. Thomas," 52.

37. Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 46–47; Yates, "History of John Clark," 3; "Provo in 1849"; Thomas, "Autobiography of Robert T. Thomas," 52; "A Veteran Gone: Peter W. Conover Departed," *Provo Daily Enquirer*, 22 September 1892, 4.

38. Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 47; Yates, "History of John Clark," 3.

39. Burr, Map, T7S–R2E; United States Department of Agriculture Aerial Maps of Northwest Provo, 24 August 1946, CVX 3B 130 and 131, King Visual Technology.

40. Carter and Carter, "Finding Fort Utah," 35–36.

41. Yates, "History of John Clark," 3.

42. Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 47.

43. Yates, History of John Clark, 3.

44. George Washington Bean, Autobiography of George Washington Bean, 44, original, LDS Church Archives.

45. Albert Jones, Provo, Utah County, Utah, 10 Utah Sketches 1880, Bancroft Collection, 55, LDS Church Archives.

46. Yates, "History of John Clark," 4.

47. Carter and Carter, "Finding Fort Utah," 75–76.

48. Early History of Provo or Historical Records and Minutes of Provo Stake, 3 April 1849, 21, LDS Church Archives. The Early History of Provo is a short, sketchy, reminiscent account which was apparently written by a clerk sometime after the fact.

49. Burr, Map, T6S–R2E.

50. Andrew Knudsen, "Some Pioneer Remembrances," np, Daughters of the Utah Pioneers Collection, Perry Special Collections.

51. Jensen, *History of Provo*, 35.

52. Utah Settlement Map, 1849, original, probable surveyor, William Lemon, LDS Church Archives.

53. Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 47.

54. Bean, Autobiography of George Washington Bean, 44–45.

55. Thomas, "Autobiography of Robert T. Thomas," 53; Early History of Provo, 21.

56. Brigham D. Madsen, ed., *A Forty-niner in Utah With the Stansbury Exploration of Great Salt Lake: Letters and Journal of John Hudson 1848–50* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund and University of Utah Press, 1981), 76.

57. Peter W. Conover, dictated to J. Marinus Jensen, "Peter W. Cownover Gives a Sketch of his Eventful Life," *Provo Daily Enquirer*, 26 March 1891, 4.

58. Anna Clark Hale, *Memoirs of Anna Clark Hale* (privately printed, 1965), 21.

59. These are the names listed on the "Utau Settlement" map of 1849: James A. Ivie, Walter Barney, George Pickup, Dimick Huntington, Jabez Nowland, Wesley Adair, Franklin Weaver, William Pace, Richard Ivie, Robert Egbert, Joseph Higbee, William Dayton, Gilberth Haws, John S. Higbee, Isaac Higbee, George Day, Ira West, Chauncey West, Robert T. Thomas, Rufus Stoddard, Robert Snyder, William Ivie, Samuel Clark, Sylvester Hulet, Samuel Ewing, Peter Conover, James Bean, Wilson D. Pace, A. Houghton Conover, Miles Weaver, Elijah Holden, and Thomas Orr.

60. Early History of Provo, 15 May 1849, 21.

61. Tullidge, "History of Provo City," 270.

62. Jane Park Jones, "The Early and Only School Days of Pioneer Jane Park Jones," in Camp Fort Wall Histories, 3 vols. (Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, Provo,

Utah nd) 1:159, Joyce Kling Harmon Collection, Perry Special Collections.

63. Ray C. Colton, "A Historical Study of the Exploration of Utah Valley and the Story of Fort Utah" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1946), 85.

64. Tullidge, "History of Provo City," 270.

65. Hale, *Memoirs of Anna Clark Hale*, 38–39; Yates, "History of John Clark," 5; Colton, "The Story of Ft. Utah," 83–84; Jensen, *History of Provo*, 40; Tullidge, "History of Provo City," 270.

CHAPTER 6

Getting to Know the Neighbors and Establishing Roots

THE SETTLERS IN UTAH VALLEY REALIZED THAT WHILE diligent labor was a necessity, it would take more than hard work to insure the success of their colony. They knew that the development of a good relationship with the Utes was also necessary, and they worked toward that goal. In fact, after the initial confrontation between the two cultures on 1 April 1849, both sides seem to have made an effort to co-exist, and conditions improved dramatically. Peace reigned during early April.[1] On the twelfth of that month, John S. Higbee described conditions in a letter to Brigham Young. "Since we have been here we have enjoyed health and peace among ourselves and peace with our neighbours the Indians," Higbee wrote.[2]

As time passed, however, the pioneers walked a diplomatic tightrope strung taut between two bands of Indians. They found it increasingly difficult to balance their friendship between the Timpanogots band in Utah Valley and Wanship's band who lived near the Great Salt Lake. For many years before the settlers arrived, the two opposing bands ruled their respective valleys and almost constantly fought with each other. Any kindness or aid the pioneers offered to one band elicited a negative response from the other.

Little Chief led the Timpanogots band. He co-operated with the settlers in Utah Valley and worked for peaceful co-existence. Old Elk, who was daring, intriguing, and villainous, acted as the band's war chief. This combination of personal characteristics prompted his contemporaries to consider him to be "a great warrior, but a bad Indian."[3]

Old Wanship, whose family seceded from the Timpanogots band years earlier, led the Salt Lake band. He terrorized the valley in his youth, and demonstrated a fair amount of sagacity in his later years. His son, known by the nickname Jim, served as the band's war chief. He was a great marksman and a successful hunter. During his short acquaintance with the Mormons, they considered him to be one of their favorite Indians.

In May 1848, less than a year before Fort Utah was established, the cunning and unscrupulous Old Elk devised a plan to exact revenge on Jim, who had killed a Timpanogots Ute the previous summer. Old Elk sent word to Salt Lake Valley that he was tired of fighting and yearned for peace. In response, Jim, his brothers, and some of his band's bravest warriors set out for Utah Valley to smoke the pipe of peace and establish a truce.

On 16 May 1848, Jim and his men met the Timpanogots on the south bank of Provo River near where Fort Utah was later established. All night they smoked and celebrated the newly established peace. As the skies grayed and the new day approached, the party broke up. Jim and his men prepared to leave for Salt Lake Valley, and Old Elk left the gathering, saying he was retiring to his lodge.

After making final preparations for departure, Jim mounted his horse and urged the animal across Provo River. Jim's younger brother traveled on foot a short distance ahead of the war chief, and a line of braves haphazardly strung out behind him in single file. Jim emerged from the woods fringing the river and rode to a spot where the trail took a sudden turn. As he rounded this bend, he glanced up and found himself looking down the barrel of a rifle. A short distance ahead, Old Elk knelt with rifle cocked, aimed, and ready to fire. Jim quickly reined in his horse and grabbed his bow. His defensive motion was cut short by the crack of Old Elk's rifle. Both Jim and his horse dropped in the trail, dead. The bullet had blown through the top of the horse's skull and lodged in Jim's forehead.

The fallen chief's disconsolate warriors were so demoralized by the death of their leader that they seemed to give little thought to immediate retaliation. They gathered up Jim's remains, draped them across the back of a horse, and headed for Salt Lake Valley.

After hearing of Jim's death, Wanship, his family, and the rest of the band mourned deeply. The old chief was driven nearly insane with grief. Despite their sorrow, Wanship's band made few threats. They patiently awaited the chance to exact a full measure of revenge on the Utes.[4]

Jim's demise also caused quite an alarm among the settlers of Salt Lake Valley. Early on the morning of Jim's death, disquieting news reached pioneers living south of the Mormon capital. Rumor said 1000 or 2000 Indians rampaged northward into the valley killing colonists along the way. Daniel Spencer and others living in the affected area received orders to pack their wagons with "movables" and hurry toward the city.

After fleeing some distance, the refugees learned that the report was a sham. In reality, Wanship's and Little Chief's bands had fought with each other, and the son of a chief and one other man had been killed.[5] When the refugees received this follow-up information, the furor caused by the spurious news soon calmed.

A year later, after Wanship's hatred of the Utes had a chance to fester, two more incidents with the Timpanogots finally goaded the leader of the northern band into action. Early in March 1849, nearly a year after Jim's death, Little Chief helped a Mormon posse locate and kill four cattle thieves near the mouth of Battle Creek Canyon. The victims were related to Wanship's band. Then in April 1849, a member of Goship's band, an ally of Wanship, visited Fort Utah and tried to make peace with the Utes. The Timpanogots nearly killed him, but the settlers protected the visitor, saving his life.[6] The Utes likely frowned on this pioneer interference into their affairs, and the two northern bands were incensed by the actions of the Timpanogots.

Now Wanship was ready for revenge, and his surprise raid on Little Chief's horse herd near Fort Utah in mid-April shattered the tenuous calm that had settled over the infant colony. All was peace and quiet on the morning of 12 April when Dimick B. Huntington's son, Allen, sought the family oxen so that he could continue plowing the family's allotted farmland.[7] One of the three plots of farmland belonging to the Huntington family was located toward the western end of Fort Field, opposite Box Elder Island.[8] This must have been the plot young Huntington intended to plow.

Little Chief's band was camped about half a mile below the fort on a creek[9] that branched from Provo River to form Box Elder Island. This would place the Ute camp either on the island or just north of the river opposite the island. Either location was near the Huntington land.

The unsuspecting Utes slept, their horses hitched outside the village, when Huntington traveled westward close to the river bank. As he paused opposite the village, he noticed horsemen descending in a cloud of dust from the bench northeast of the Ute camp. They rode rapidly toward the sleeping village, their shrill war whoops and a volley of rifle fire awaking the Utes. Little Chief's men ran from their lodges with rifles or bows in their hands ready to defend their families and horse herd. The noise also startled the settlers in Fort Utah half a mile away.[10]

Huntington squatted undetected in the brush and tall grass as he watched the skirmish between the two bands. Wanship's men swooped down on the Ute horses, encircled some twenty-eight[11] of them, and drove the animals away from the village. The Utes mounted a counterattack to drive off the invaders before they could do any more damage. Several Ute men were wounded, including

Little Chief's son, who was shot through the arm and thigh and received several other wounds to his body. No one on either side was killed,[12] though Wanship's warriors seized almost all of the Timpanogots' horses and also filched several animals belonging to the Mormon settlers. Reckless shooting left two horses dead and two others wounded.[13]

Allen Huntington returned to Fort Utah and gave the settlers a firsthand account of the skirmish. Little Chief, who was stunned by his ignominious defeat, soon visited the Mormon fort to petition his supposed allies for aid in recovering his village's horses. Young Huntington acted as interpreter, his father Dimick being absent on a trip to Salt Lake City.

With tears in his eyes, the Ute chief, whose men were nearly helpless without their horses, begged the colonists for help, arguing that the settlers were obliged to assist him. He explained that one of the reasons the northern chief attacked the Ute village was because the Timpanogots helped the Mormons find and punish the cattle thieves at Battle Creek. Little Chief had acted as the friend of the settlers, and he felt that he was punished by Wanship's band as a result of his cooperation with the Mormons. Now he wanted the colonists to show their friendship by helping his band get their horses back.

Pioneer leader John S. Higbee explained to Little Chief that he could do nothing without orders from Brigham Young and promised that he would consult with Young as soon as possible. A courier carrying Higbee's hurried letter to Young left Fort Utah for Salt Lake City that afternoon at 1:00 P.M. and arrived in the northern city at 6:00 that evening.[14] "Now Little Chief Says if we are his friends he wants us to proove it by getting back their horses for them," the letter said. "Now we wish you would give some council concerning the matter."[15]

The letter beat Wanship's men to Salt Lake City. The Indians victoriously returned to their camp near that settlement at daybreak Friday, 13 April. Zina Diantha Young watched the Indians pass through the city with their captured horse herd.[16]

Brigham Young responded to Higbee's letter by sending Dimick Huntington back to Utah Valley to help console and calm the Utes and to be with his family in case there was Indian trouble at the fort.[17] The Mormon president also sent a company of armed men to Wanship's camp in Salt Lake Valley in an attempt to pressure the chief into returning the Ute horses.

It proved to be a gloomy Friday the Thirteenth for both Little Chief and the settlers at Fort Utah. Wanship staunchly defied all the power on earth to take the horses from him. He fired a shot over the posse leader's head and stated that every man, woman, and child in the village would die before his people would give up those horses. His men had risked their lives for the horses and, according to their custom, the animals now belonged to his people. The grizzled chief remained steadfast.[18]

When Wanship's defiance became known, President Young and an interpreter paid a friendly visit to the camp. They tried to persuade the old chief into giving up the horses. Wanship acted less belligerently, but he still refused to give up his booty. Young tried another course of action. If the horses could not be retrieved and Little Chief placated, the Mormon leader said any subsequent clash between the two bands was not to take place near Salt Lake City. Young explained through his interpreter that he wanted to be a friend to all Indians and did not wish to fight any of them. Nor did he want them to fight one another. If they had their mind set on fighting, he wanted them to go elsewhere.

Wanship saw in Young's words a way to keep the horses and still stay on reasonably friendly terms with the Mormons. He promised to leave the valley, and he departed with the animals about a week later. He moved toward the safer Shoshone Country near Fort Bridger where the horses could be traded.[19] Too much snow obstructed the main emigrant road, so Wanship traveled north to the Ogden River and then turned east toward Ogden's Hole,[20] near present Huntsville. He hoped that by taking this route he could bypass the highest mountains and the deepest snow and eventually join the main trail leading east.

Little Chief received word of Wanship's refusal to return the Ute horses. Making plans of his own, the Timpanogots chief enlisted the help of men and horses from the Ute band living on the Spanish Fork River. On 19 April, he left his Provo camp and traveled to Salt Lake Valley for a showdown. When the Ute chief and some fifteen men[21] reached the Mormon stronghold, they found that Wanship and his men had already departed with the horses.

The Ute warriors located their enemy's trail and followed it northward into Ogden Canyon. They caught Wanship before he reached the main wagon road, attacked him, recaptured their horses, and even made away with some horses owned by Wanship's band. Several men on both sides were wounded in the skirmish, and the Utes killed Wanship's son and another of his warriors.[22]

After the skirmish, Little Chief drove off his loot on the hoof. He started for his village on Provo River, camping that night in the mountains, undoubtedly elated with his recent success. But Wanship's warriors were quietly on the move as Little Chief's men bivouacked. Somehow they skulked past the Ute camp and sought an advantageous place to ambush their arch enemies. They chose a place where the Utes and their herd would be slowed by a heavy drift of snow. Then they waited through the night. The next morning when the Timpanogots bogged down in the snow, Wanship's band attacked. They recaptured more than half of the remaining horses and killed Little Chief and one of his men. Others on both sides were wounded.[23]

After the confrontation, the Utes limped home and Wanship hobbled on toward Shoshone Country. Less than a year later, Wanship was destined to join Little Chief on the "Happy Hunting Ground." He died of measles with little glory and fanfare in March 1850.[24]

All of the parties involved in this affair, the two rival bands and the colonists at Fort Utah, came out losers. Neither Indian band achieved a decisive victory, and both suffered casualties. The two bands also lost many horses. According to both Hosea Stout and John D. Lee, forty horses were killed in these skirmishes. Since the two bands combined owned only about eighty horses, this would have been an extremely costly loss for both sides.[25]

The colonists at Fort Utah possibly sustained a greater loss. Since they did not recover the Timpanogots' stolen horses and were not willing to help the Ute's forcefully retake their property from Wanship's band, they lost a degree of Ute friendship, trust, and goodwill. They also lost Little Chief, a reasonably friendly leader who was willing to cooperate with the settlers. He was replaced by Opecarry,[26] sometimes called Stick-in-the-Head by the pioneers because he braided a piece of mountain mahogany into his hair. Ope-Carry proved to be far less cooperative with the settlers than Little Chief had been, and relations between the two cultures soon worsened.

Colonists at Fort Utah faced additional Indian problems during April 1849. The previous December Brigham Young sent a letter via Thomas S. Williams to Jim Bridger and Louis Vasquez at Fort Bridger. Young asked the partners if they would be opposed to the Mormons establishing a small colony in Uinta Valley the next spring. The Mormon leader also asked their advice in the matter.[27]

In the their response on 7 April, Bridger and Vasquez stated that they had no objection to a settlement, but advised against sending a small group of settlers to Uinta Valley because of the warlike behavior of the Utes in that area. They had "been fighting with sum Americans in the direction of Taos, and there has been sum of them kild, and to mind the matter, you have kild four this spring."[28] Bridger and Vasquez referred to the skirmish at Battle Creek that occurred only a month earlier. Old Elk, who was visiting in the area near Fort Bridger, witnessed the deaths in Uinta Valley and Battle Creek and was still very upset about them.

The letter further stated that even Bridger had been intimidated by the Utes. He had intended to stay with them and trade during the winter, but their behavior so alarmed him that he returned to Fort Bridger. The two traders suggested that if Young decided to send a settlement, he had better send one large enough to stand against all the Utes in that area. In their opinion, a large settlement would not be practical because there was not enough arable land.[29]

When Thomas S. Williams delivered this letter to Brigham Young, he reported a disturbing observation that he had made on this trip to Indian coun-

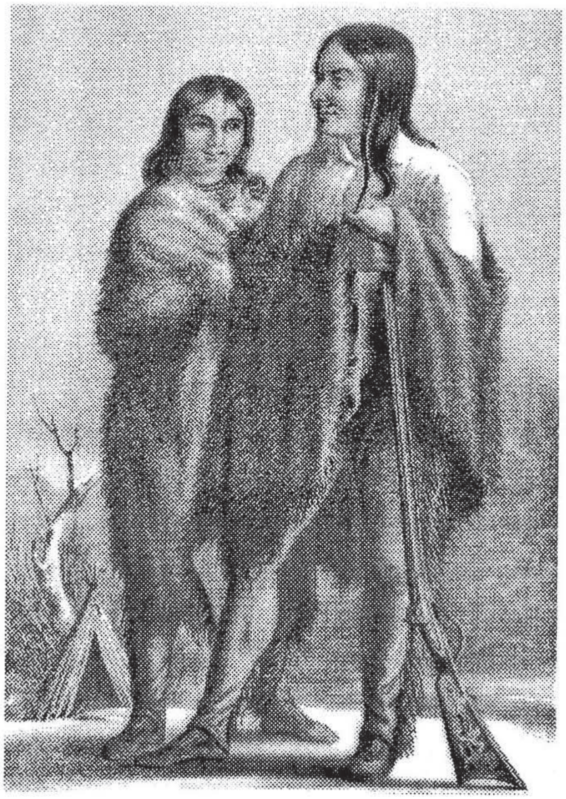

FIGURE 32
Old Elk was daring, villainous, and intriguing. *He served as war chief of the Timpanogots band when colonists arrived at the site of Fort Utah in April 1849. Weeks later, he and Chief Waccara attempted to enlist the support of Ute bands living in the Uinta Basin for a joint attack on the infant settlement in Utah Valley.* HOWARD STANSBURY, EXPEDITION TO THE GREAT SALT LAKE.

try. Chiefs Old Elk and Waccara (Walker) were going among the Utes and endeavoring to incite them to attack Fort Utah.[30] Upon hearing this news, Brigham Young penned a letter to John S. Higbee on 18 April. Young informed the leader at Fort Utah of a possible Indian attack and listed the precautionary measures he wished the colonists to take. He counseled the settlers to finish their fort, hoist the cannon to the top of it as quickly as possible, and gather a good supply of small, round stones to use as grape shot. Young warned the colonists to stay near the fort, have their guns and ammunition at their sides while at work, and keep a sharp watch for Indians to prevent a surprise attack. He instructed them to watch their cattle and horses day and night and secure the animals in the corral at the end of the day. If Old Elk came to the fort suing for peace, Young said the colonists were not to give him any gifts. The settlers were to tell Old Elk to stop stealing their animals and offer to teach him and his people to farm.[31]

The leaders at Fort Utah wasted no time in responding to Young's letter. On 19 April Dimick B. Huntington wrote to Brigham Young and revealed that the colonists in Utah Valley had also heard from another source of Old Elk and Waccara's effort to instigate an attack on the fort. Patsowett, a brother of one of the warriors the pioneers killed at Battle Creek, came into their fort 18 April and "cut up high swells," but Huntington succeeded in making him a friend. The Indian said "a great deel a bout Walkers comeing in soon."[32]

The new colonists took the news seriously. They mustered and inventoried their guns and ammunition. The men counted twenty muskets, one keg of gun powder, and no cartridges.[33] After completing this tally, Huntington pleaded with the Mormon leader to send more ammunition. He wrote:

> I wish you would send by Capt Hunt twenty rounds a piece for each gun if you think it best we will take care of the amunition we gut

> but one kag of powder & no cattridges I think it would be good to have another kag if you please.

What Huntington lacked in ability to spell, he made up for in politeness.

Huntington also reported that quite a number of Indians were assembled in the area around the fort. Their disposition appeared to be friendly but tentative. He informed the leaders in Salt Lake City that the colonists had fired the cannon once, and it had a good effect upon the Utes. The authorities at Fort Utah sent Captain Jefferson Hunt to Salt Lake City with the letter.[34]

President Young likely sent Hunt back with the ammunition. He also started on a course of action designed to protect the settlements from Indian attack. In a meeting held 22 April, Thomas Bullock read the letter from Bridger and Vasquez to those in attendance. Brigham Young took advantage of the occasion to air his views on Indian relations and emotionally prepare the settlers for a possible conflict. He said in part:

> Do you ever recollect Joseph [Smith] speaking of the Lamanites—we shall see the time that we shall [h]av[e] to kill them to save them from killing us—the [Lord] knew I [h]ad difficulty to convert the Gentiles—[and] the Lamanites who of them [h]av[e] been converted to the Gospel? I told the [brethren] I [would] lead them to a good healthy country - [and] Ive done it. I will not pledge [to] this [people] that they [are] safe from the Gentile or Lamanite unless they abide my Council -[h]av[e] faith, good works bef[ore] the L[or]d. [Believe in the Lord and] be ready with their guns [and] Swords. . . . we [h]av[e] tried to get a military [organization], but [h]av[e] failed. . . . I want to see next Saturday spent in it let every man appear here [and] [h]av[e] his Sword trimmed [and] pistols ready [and] I'll warrant you safety-[35]

In this meeting Brigham Young also assigned George D. Grant to pick fifty minute men who were to be armed and ready for any difficulty at a moment's notice.[36]

The settlers in Salt Lake City continued preparing for any imminent problems with the Indians. Three companies of horsemen numbering 108 men and six companies of foot soldiers numbering 337 men met and drilled on 5 May. Drums beat and martial music rent the air as these members of the Nauvoo Legion practiced their maneuvers. At the end of the drill, Brigadier General Jedediah M. Grant addressed the troops.[37]

The Ute attack on Fort Utah that the leaders and men so diligently prepared for did not materialize. In fact, conditions calmed to such a degree that by 3 May Dimick B. Huntington was able to leave Utah Valley to visit his sister Zina in Salt Lake City. He reported to her that all was well at Fort Utah.[38]

Huntington soon returned to Utah Valley, and on Sunday, 6 May, one of

Waccara's brothers paid the interpreter a visit. The two peacefully smoked together as the Ute revealed his expectation that Waccara would arrive at the fort within the next several days. The famed Ute chief and twenty lodges of his followers reached the fort 10 May.[39] Waccara greeted Huntington in a friendly manner, and the two shook hands. Then the chief and the interpreter walked to Huntington's cabin where they smoked and traded. The chief exchanged a horse for a flintlock rifle. Waccara impressed Huntington as being a smart, sensible man.

After Waccara left Huntington's cabin, Old Elk entered it. The Timpanogots chief presented a less than friendly appearance with pistol in belt, bowie knife in sheath, and rifle in hand. However, the two men civilly smoked the pipe and talked.

An incident later in the day demonstrated the mettle of some frontier women and showed that Old Elk was not as formidable as he appeared. The chief must have somehow offended Catherine Orr, the Scottish-born, fifty-one-year-old wife of Thomas Orr. Dimick B. Huntington related the result of the chief's rash actions. He reported, "Mrs. Orr hit old Elk a blow with her fist & reeled him." With women like her in the fort, who needed cartridges?

That night the Utes felt happy and showed their affable disposition by singing as they moved throughout the fort. The large number of armed Utes moving freely through the settlement undoubtedly caused some colonists concern, but relations between the two groups remained amiable. Four Indian boys even helped drive the settlers' cattle back to the corral for the evening. Waccara and Huntington met again and palavered at length. The interpreter told the chief of the Book of Mormon and said that the two peoples must be friends. "Done," Walker allegedly replied. He expressed his intention of having his son learn English. The chief informed Huntington that many Utes intended to visit Fort Utah that spring because they had heard what the Mormons had said and wanted to be their friends. He said he wanted the various Indian bands to stop fighting each other and be comrades. The shrewd Ute was quick to add, however, that the Mormons had done the right thing by killing the cattle-stealing Indians at Battle Creek. In his opinion, the Mormons should have killed more of them. There was no love lost between Waccara and the Timpanogots band.

The evening ended on an optimistic note. Waccara had apparently been thinking about the possible trading and defensive advantages his band would reap by having a colony established in his valley. The wily chief told Huntington that he wanted the Mormons to settle on his land in Sanpete Valley where there was good water, land, and timber.

Near the end of their conversation, the chief asked a favor of Huntington. The Ute wanted the interpreter to ask Brigham Young to write a letter to Thomas "Pegleg" Smith, who had a small establishment in Bear River Valley, asking his help in securing the return of Te Emps' wife and child and Patsowet's wife. All of them had recently returned to their Shoshone relatives. Huntington consented to make the request.

Late into the night the colonists deployed guards around their cattle and retired to their cabins to get what sleep they dared take. The Utes, who lay down around their fires nearby, may have slept more soundly.

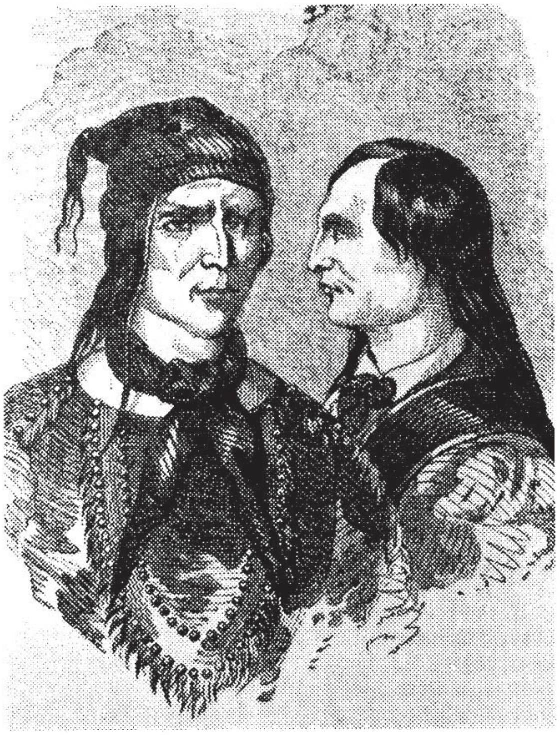

FIGURE 33
Chief Waccara visited Fort Utah in May 1849. *The volatile and wily Ute traded with the colonists, behaved amicably, and invited them to settle on his land in Sanpete Valley.* COURTESY UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

While the colonists of Fort Utah were coping with an ever-growing number of Utes, Brigham Young was still struggling to formulate an Indian policy. In a 12 May meeting, he expressed some of his views and offered some suggestions to his people. Any early optimism he may have harbored about being able to quickly convert the older Utes seems to have faded, although he still had hope for the younger generation. In his words, "As for the old Indians now alive entering into the new and everlasting covenant, they will not do it, but they will die and be damned." He felt that it would take many years to convert the younger Indians and offered a possible course of action. He told the settlers: "Stay at home and mind your own business, and the Indians will do the same. And if they come and are not friendly with us, put them where they wont [*sic*] harm us. If we stay at home, they will send their children to our schools."[40]

The Mormon leader hoped to eliminate what he must have considered to be one of the biggest sources of trouble by making it more difficult for the Indians to steal pioneer animals. "I recommend the herding of horses," he advised. "The Indians would rather have our horses than us."[41]

Dimick B. Huntington reported on his friendly confab with Waccara in a 14 May meeting in Salt Lake City which was attended by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Newell K. Whitney, Daniel H. Wells, Thomas Bullock and others. After the meeting, Brigham Young ordered that letters should be written to Thomas L. Smith and Waccara.

The letter to the trader asked his aid in securing the return of the Indian women.[42] The letter to the Ute chief called for friendship and peace between the Mormons and the Utes. Waccara was to go to Huntington with his questions and problems. Young assured Waccara that if the Utes promised not to molest the settlers, a colony would be sent to Sanpete as soon as possible. The colonizers would then raise grain, sell cattle to the Indians, and supply them with seed and, perhaps, some clothing.

Concerning trade, Young told Waccara that the colonists were too low on ammunition at the present time to do much trading, but he assured the chief that if he and a few men came to Salt Lake City that fall, the Mormons would trade with them. After the Mormon immigrant companies arrived, the Utes could trade for more ammunition and exchange horses for grain. Young entrusted Huntington with the delivery of Waccara's letter.[43]

Huntington returned to Fort Utah where he found all the colonists well, and peace with the Indians prevailed. Many Utes who "manifested a friendly disposition" were arriving near the fort each day.[44] They came in from all directions and passed the word that many more were on their way. The Utes were gathering for their yearly fish festival which they held during the spawning season when they could catch enormous numbers of fish. At this time of the year, there was enough food available on the lower Provo River to support many people. Ute bands from as far away as 150 miles gathered there to eat and enjoy each other's company. It was not unusual to see 500 lodges of Utes camped near the Provo River during spawning season.[45]

George Washington Bean left the following account describing the large quantities of fish available:

> Indeed, so great was the number of suckers and mullets passing continuously up-stream that often the River would be full from bank to bank as thick as they could swim for hours and sometimes for days together. The fish could be taken in all ways and places and the Indians could feast from morning to night for weeks, free of all costs except a little labor of capturing these "Pah-gar" (suckers) or "At-um-Pah-gar" speckled trout—good fish.[46]

Dimick B. Huntington forwarded the news of the Ute gathering and several other items to the leaders in Salt Lake City in a 18 May letter. Huntington reported some excitement caused by a false alarm when the Utes thought they were being attacked by the Shoshone. He also mentioned that Brigham's letter to Waccara had not yet been delivered because the chief had moved his camp to another location farther away from the fort, probably to minimize the chance of having a conflict with the Timpanogots. Huntington concluded the letter with some news of the settlement. The crops were doing as well as could be expected, and the river was falling.[47] The lower water level in the river made traveling to and from Salt Lake City easier and allowed many of the heads of household to return to the city and bring back their families. The diminishing amount of water in the stream also improved fishing.

This letter, with its news that large numbers of Utes were gathering near Fort Utah, caused Brigham Young some consternation. He rushed back a reply to Huntington's letter on 19 May. Young again urged the people in Utah Valley to finish their fort as soon as possible. He warned them that they could never be too cautious or too well prepared for an Indian attack. Young instructed them to act in wisdom and prudence at all times and not be thrown off guard by the friendliness of the Utes. To prevent attack, he cautioned the settlers to let only a few unarmed Utes at a time into the fort and to keep all armed Indians on the outside.[48]

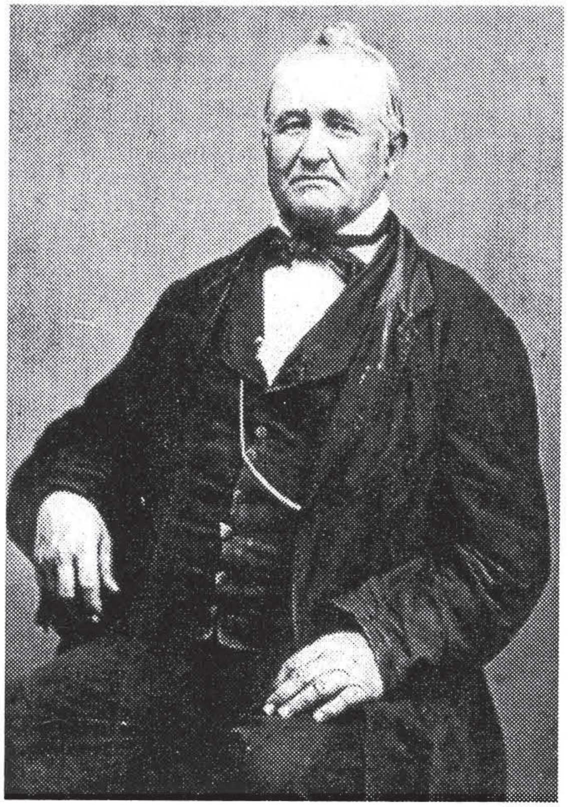

FIGURE 34

Dimick B. Huntington acted as an invaluable member of the leadership team at Fort Utah. *He served as both Indian interpreter and as John S. Higbee's second counselor. Huntington supervised much of the interaction between the Utes and the settlers. When Chief Waccara visited the fort in 1849, Huntington acted as his host.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

Whether the settlers implemented Young's advice is unknown. They may have felt vulnerable with all the Utes camping nearby, but they did not seem to have been as alarmed by the situation as Young was. In fact, at least some of the occupants of the fort felt quite at ease with the Utes and joined in their festivities. George Washington Bean wrote:

> While these Bands of Indians met each spring for fishing, they engaged in good sporting as well, horse-racing, trading, gambling, foot-racing, wrestling, etc. Some spent weeks here and I lost no time idle myself, and I enjoyed their games and learned much of their language and made friends.[49]

In the midst of this hubbub, the colonists endeavored to complete their normal chores of farming, building, herding, and cooking. They also tried to fulfill their usual social and religious obligations. They met together in a worship service on Sunday, 20 May, where they "had good teaching & appointed the morning of the next Sabbath for Baptisim."[50] It became customary for settlers of new colonies to demonstrate their solidarity and rededication to the LDS cause by being rebaptized shortly after their arrival at a new colonization site.

Later that week, Mother Nature dealt Fort Utah's inhabitants and their tender young crops a major setback. In his letter of 19 May, Brigham Young mentioned that the weather in Salt Lake City had turned cold with clouds covering the nearby hills.[51] That cold front moved south and on 23 May a severe snowstorm struck along the lower Provo River in Utah Valley. It lasted three hours, and was followed that night by a killer frost that destroyed most of the pioneers' tender crops.[52] When the weather moderated, the farmers began replanting their fields.

The following Sunday Dimick B. Huntington opened the church meeting at Fort Utah with prayer. Isaac Higbee, who presided over the meeting in the absence of his brother, John, reviewed with the audience the duties of elders. Higbee "was follo[w]ed by Bro Blackburn who gave us good teaching." The leaders announced that a prayer meeting would be held every Sunday afternoon.[53]

After the meeting that day, the congregation reassembled on the banks of Provo River where forty men, women, and children were rebaptized in the icy waters. Twenty-five (16 male and 9 female) of the forty who were rebaptized were adults. These twenty-five adults included seven married couples, nine men without their wives, and two women without their husbands. Fifteen children (8 male and 7 female) also went into the water. Almost all of them were sons and daughters of the adults who were rebaptized that day. Names of five of the rebaptized men—Jehu Blackburn, Jefferson Hunt, Henry Rollins, Alexander Williams, and Joshua T. Willis—did not appear on the Utau Settlement map as landowners.[54] Perhaps they came to Fort Utah soon after the map was completed or were original settlers who for some reason didn't claim land in the Fort Field.

The day these rebaptisms were being performed, John S. Higbee, the president of the Fort Utah colony, was in Salt Lake City visiting his wife and taking care of business concerning the Utah Valley settlement. That evening he and Alexander Williams attended a policy-making meeting with the church presidency, Twelve Apostles, and several other high church leaders.

Apparently, the numerous Utes in the vicinity of Fort Utah insisted on trading with the colonists. This made it necessary for the settlement to implement a uniform trading policy that would help minimize the possibility of trading conflicts between the two races. Higbee informed the Salt Lake City leaders that the brethren at Fort Utah had voted not to sell guns or ammunition to the Utes. Those who disregarded this arrangement would have the property they gained from the transaction confiscated and sold. The money gained from the property's sale would then be divided among the other men at the fort.

After Higbee finished speaking, Alexander Williams suggested that transactions with the Utes could more easily be controlled only if certain settlers had the sole authority to trade with them. He asked for that privilege. Williams had previously talked to Waccara, who proclaimed his friendship and said he wished to trade. The pioneer businessman promised the chief that he would provide what he needed in the fall, and that the settlers would take all his skins and furs.

Heber C. Kimball and Brigham Young spoke in favor of appointing two men, Dimick B. Huntington and Alexander Williams, to trade with the Indians. John S. Higbee injected his opinion that Huntington's liberality and friendliness with the Utes made them saucy. In spite of Higbee's negative response, Kimball motioned that Huntington and Williams should have the exclusive privilege of trading with the Utes for the community at Fort Utah. The motion carried.

Brigham Young said that all other people should be prohibited from trading with the Utes, under threat of fine for non-compliance. He thought the traders should receive a wage and be paid double when they were actually engaged in trading. Young's thoughts were put into the form of a motion, which also passed. The leaders then decided that the citizens at Fort Utah should get the skins and furs the traders acquired from the Utes at cost if the trading took place in the vicinity of the settlement. The traders could charge more if they had to travel long distances to trade with the Utes, but the charges were not to be oppressive.

When this business was completed, John S. Higbee introduced another topic. After serving barely two months as president of the Fort Utah colony, Higbee asked to be released from that position. His wife refused to move to the Utah Valley settlement. It was difficult for him to maintain two residences that far apart.

Young heard Higbee out then called for a show of hands of all those in favor of releasing him from his position. All hands went up. Young immediately suggested the name of Isaac Higbee as his brother's successor. Again the brethren voted unanimously in favor of their president's proposal.[55]

Brigham Young dictated a letter to Isaac Higbee the next day. John S. Higbee delivered it when he returned to Provo. The communication named Isaac Higbee as president of the colony, effective immediately. It also informed the new leader of the trading decisions the council had reached. Young told Higbee to inform Dimick B. Huntington that there was no need to rush Waccara to Salt Lake City to meet with the Mormon leaders. They intended to stay in the city all summer.

Young ended his letter with the following suggestion and warning:

> It will be better for your Settlement not to be so familiar with the Indians, it makes them bold, impudent, and saucy and will become a source of

> trouble and expence to you—keep them at a respectful distance all the time, and they will respect you the more for it.[56]

The fact that Young offered similar suggestions and warnings to Fort Utah's settlers several times indicates that the settlers were not taking his words as seriously as he hoped they would.

On the 1 June, Dimick B. Huntington and Peter W. Conover traveled to Salt Lake City. Huntington visited his sisters, Zina and Prescindia,[57] and likely took care of some official business. Conover, who was a widower, fetched his eleven-year-old daughter, Jeanette, who had been unable to make the trip to Fort Utah in May with the rest of the family. She needed time in Salt Lake City to recuperate from a bad burn she had received when she fell against a hot kettle. When Conover and his daughter returned to Fort Utah, Provo River ran too high for them to cross on horseback, so they used a ferry to navigate it. The ride proved to be exceedingly dangerous and the boat sank minutes after Conover and his daughter disembarked on the south side of the river.[58]

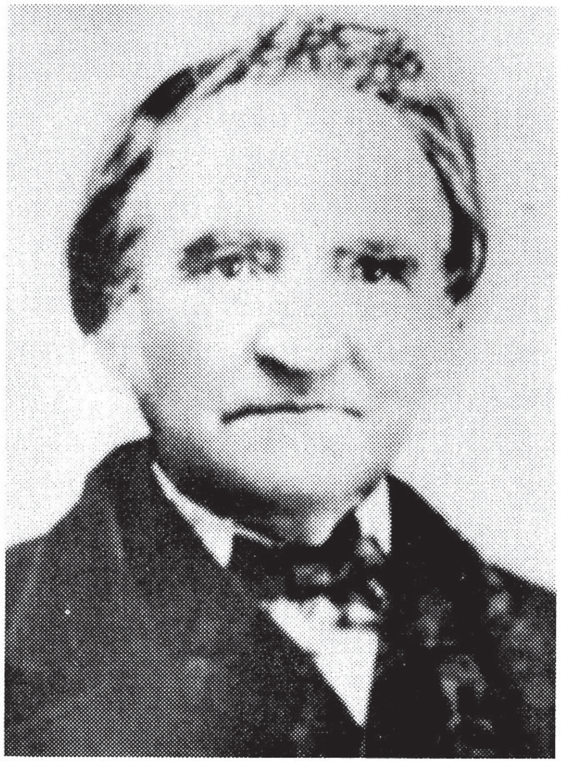

FIGURE 35

Isaac Higbee took over as president of the colony at Fort Utah in May 1849. *He had previously served as first counselor to his brother, John S. Higbee, and had experience as a commercial fisherman.* COURTESY PROVO DUP MUSEUM.

When Huntington returned to the fort, it is likely he brought with him a letter from the First Presidency. A communication from the leaders in Salt Lake City was read and copied at Fort Utah on 4 June.[59] Unfortunately, a copy of this letter has not been located, but it probably contained a request for a Fort Utah census. On 7 June, Provo's eighteen-year-old clerk, George Washington Bean, completed the earliest known enumeration of the people in the fort and sent it to Salt Lake City.[60]

Bean's census provides the only reliable and comprehensive list of the 188 men, women, and children who resided in the fort early in June 1849. It also helps verify that the Utau Settlement Map containing the farm plots and the names of their owners included most of the original heads of household at the fort.

Several historians state that the original settlers and their families, who arrived in Utah Valley a few months before Bean's census, totaled about 150 people. This number appears to be fairly accurate. Bean's census lists eleven men whose names do not appear on the farmland map.[61] Two of the men, Alexander Williams and Jefferson Hunt, likely resided at the fort but for some reason did not claim land in Fort Field. One original settler, John S. Higbee, left in May before the census was taken. Forty people belonged to the families of the nine men who seem to have come after the farmland map was drawn. The families of the men whose names do appear on the farmland map plus John Higbee and the families of Hunt and Williams number 149 original settlers.

The diverse group residing at Fort Utah in June 1849 was bound together by common purposes: a shared religion, and a need for safety. Many of them were acquainted with each other before they settled at the fort. Some knew each other very well as friends and neighbors even before journeying to the Great Basin. Several families were united by kinship or marriage ties to other families in the community. Sixteen of the men served together as volunteers in the Mormon Battalion, and three men traveled to Salt Lake Valley in Brigham Young's Pioneer Company of 1847. Many of the men were proven frontiersmen who possessed the skills necessary for facing and conquering the wilderness and starting the new settlement.

The great majority of the early residents of Fort Utah were American by birth. Only 20 (11%) of the 188 settlers were born in foreign countries: 8 came from Canada, 7 from Scotland, and 5 from England. The other 168 colonists were born in the United States and its territories. Of these, 43 (23%) came from New England and other northern states, and 42 (22%) from the South. The other 83, (44%) were born in frontier states and territories. Of this last group, 12 (6%) were born in Utah.

The majority of the youngsters in the fort could be termed "children of the frontier." The birth of these children in Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, and Utah reflects unsettled times when the Mormon church was on the move.

Possibly because so many of the occupants of the fort had roots in the agrarian South and the frontier states and territories where opportunities for refinement were limited, the Fort Utah community took on a somewhat rugged, rough-edged, independent and tough personality. But if the people lacked polish, they knew how to cope with the challenges of nature and adversity. They were used to hardships and beginning again from scratch.

Analysis of the community's composition reveals that Fort Utah was no hotbed of plural marriage, nor could it aspire to become one at that point. A mere 81 females compared to 107 males inhabited the fort. Thirty of the fort's men and 31 of its women were married. The average age of married males was 38, and mar-

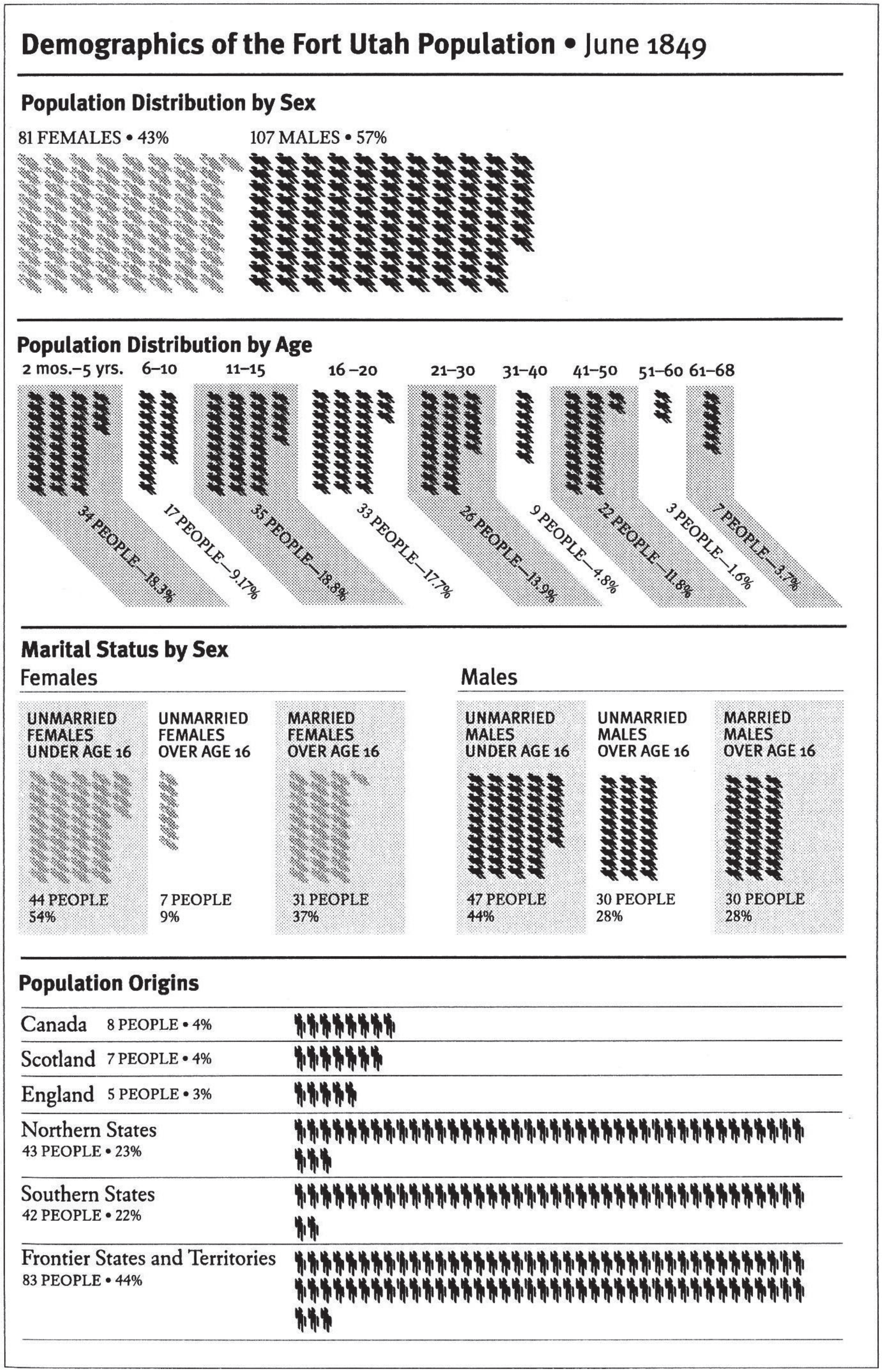

FIGURE 36

Demographics of the Fort Utah Population as of June 1849.

ried females averaged 33 years of age. Jefferson Hunt, 45, with his two wives, Celia, 43, and Matilda, 20, were the only polygamists in the settlement. Thirty men who were 16 years of age and older lived in a state of blessed bachelorhood. Two of these men were older widowers. These 30 men vied for the affection of only 7 unmarried females age 16 and over, and 3 of the 7 women were older widows. In June 1849, those pioneer men in Utah Valley who hoped to find a wife, found slim pickings and plenty of competition.

Early records provide the exact ages of 186 of the 188 people residing at Fort Utah when Bean compiled his census. This information shows that a large number of young people lived in the colony. The average age of the fort's inhabitants stood at 20.5 years. Of the 188 residents, 119 were under age 21; this constituted 63% of the population. Of the 33 young adults who were aged between 16 and 20, nine had already married and started families. Two-month-old Robert Egbert, Jr., born in Salt Lake City the previous April, was the youngest resident of the fort. He had abundant company; there were ten infants under one year of age in the settlement, and at least five women were pregnant that June. The population included 34 children ages two months through five (18.3%); 17 children ages six through ten (9.17%); and 35 children ages eleven through fifteen (18.8%).

Older people comprised a minority of Fort Utah's population. Sixty-nine persons (37%) had reached age 21 or over. The oldest inhabitant was 68-year-old Mary Ann Mathews. She was followed closely by Lois Strong, just a month younger. Henry Rollins, age 61, was the oldest male. Only 23% of the fort's population had reached 30 years of age or older.

Almost all of the men and older boys residing at the fort practiced some agriculture out of necessity. The occupations of thirty of the original settlers are known.[62] Eighteen of them declared farming or manual labor as their sole occupations. At least twelve of the thirty men were trained in other occupations from which they derived some income. Samuel and John Clark were tanners and curriers. John Park and George Corry were weavers. Dimick B. Huntington and Franklin Weaver earned most of their living by acting as interpreters and trading with the Indians. These occupations were common in towns on the outer edge of the frontier. Alexander Williams also earned part of his living trading with the Indians and supplemented this income by distilling a little something from the grain for the benefit of those who felt indisposed or those whose drab frontier lives lacked cheer. Isaac Higbee split his time among three occupations: merchant, fisherman, and farmer. Several men spent part of their time working as craftsmen. Besides farming, James Bean worked as a wheelwright, Miles Weaver built cabinets, Samuel Ewing practiced blacksmithing, and Peter W. Conover labored as a mason. Jefferson Hunt earned good money as a trail guide. It is evident that an interesting mix of people blended to form the Fort Utah community in the spring of 1849.

Even one of Utah's earliest convicts, Ira E. West, called the fort his home for a short period of time. On 24 February 1849 the Salt Lake City High Council summoned West, who had been a captain of ten on the initial move out of Nauvoo, to answer charges filed against him.[63] An article in the *Millennial Star* states that he borrowed some property from a neighbor and sold it.[64] No known document describes the charges against West in more detail than does Hosea Stout's diary. Stout wrote that West was charged with "lying, stealing, & swindling &c."[65]

On Sunday, 4 March, the Council of Fifty convened, and its first item of business was Ira West. Judging from the proposed penalty, the Council apparently considered the charges made against West to be much more serious than they would appear to be today. Concerning the case, John D. Lee wrote in his diary:

> The council al[l] agreed that he had forfeited his Head, but the difficulty was ho[w] he should be disposed of. Some were of the oppinion that to execut[e] him Publickly, under the traditions of the People, would not be safe; but to dispose of him privately would be the most practib [practical], & would result in the greatest good. The People would know tha[t] he was gone, in some strange manner, & that would be all they could sugest, but fear would take hold of them & they wo[uld] tremble for fear it would be thire time next.[66]

However, cooler heads prevailed. Brigham Young refused to "do any thing in the dark." In his opinion, "There will not be half so much danger to Just declare the Sentance publicly."[67] The Council appointed Heber C. Kimball to be "Supreme Judge." He was told to try West in public before a jury of twelve men, and pass sentence on him. The Council instructed Kimball to complete the trial before 12 March, election day.[68]

Brigham Young instructed Marshal John Van Cott to chain West, take him to the place of election, and publicly offer him for sale to the highest bidder. Then Young added, "Should Ira E. West be miss[ing] on the day of Election, I motion that we forgive him the debt."[69] The reader is free to form his own opinion about what Young's remark may have meant.

Displaying a heightened degree of concern for his welfare, West attempted to run away but was caught and put in chains. Kimball finished West's trial before election day. The judge and jury excommunicated the prisoner, and he was fined one hundred dollars. On election day, "He was offered for sale to any one who would pay his debts & take him untill he could work it out. No one however took him & [for] awhile the prospect was fair for him to loose his head."[70]

When the Council next met on 14 March, the subject of Ira West came up again. Brigham Young stated that he didn't want anything else said about West.

The Mormon leader went on to say that if any man had "Moral courage" enough to bring West before him, he would show them he was not afraid to take off his head. Then Young gave the Council permission to do "as you please" with him.[71] Luckily for West, "His brother C[hauncey] West took him at last."[72]

It appears that Ira West was also whipped. In the 1880s, when Hubert Howe Bancroft worked on research for his *History of Utah*, he asked George Q. Cannon about whipping as a penalty in early Utah. Cannon's response was:

> Ira West, one of the men who were whipped, was so chastised as the result of the action of a public congregation of the people, before who he was tried; not of any action of the High Council, or Church authorities—President Young was decidedly opposed to whipping. Things arose that we considered required punishment at that time.[73]

Ira West accompanied his brother, Chauncey, to Utah Valley in 1849 and became one of the original settlers of Fort Utah. He received a plot of land in Fort Field along with the other original settlers. Ira was one of those who was rebaptized on 27 May 1849. West apparently left the Fort Utah settlement fairly early. No mention of him is found in the records of the settlement after his brother joined Parley P. Pratt's Southern Exploring Company late in 1849.

In mid-June, Dimick B. Huntington paid another visit to Salt Lake City. He met with Chief Waccara, twelve of the Ute's men, Brigham Young, and other church leaders. The combined council discussed the future settlement of Sanpete Valley and haggled over trading prices. The meeting ended amicably, and Young ordered his men to give the Indians half an ox. Chief Sowiette also paid a visit to Salt Lake City during June. Mormon colonists traveling to Sanpete passed through Fort Utah late that fall.[74]

After Huntington's return from Salt Lake City, other community business was transacted. Two more rebaptisms were held, one on 17 June and the other on 24 June. About twenty were rebaptized on each day. Unfortunately, records listing who entered the cold waters of the Provo River on those days have not been located.[75]

The settlers approved resolutions on 27 June relative to finishing the fence around Fort Field.[76] Workmen probably used two plentiful resources, mud and willows, to construct this fence.[77]

In addition to building fences, farmers also dug some of the earliest irrigation ditches. The settlers named the first ditch of notable length the Bean Ditch since James Bean's family aided by Samuel Clark's family and others provided much of the labor.[78] The ditch was likely finished before George W. Bean was injured in an accident early in September.

The fort's founders set aside plot number 9 in Fort Field as the cemetery.

It stood due west of the fort near a little island in Provo River. This burial ground was bordered on the north and west sides by the river and contained a small mound that was likely the remnant of a prehistoric Frémont Indian village.

In June the first documented deaths in the new colony occurred. When Matilda, the 22-year-old daughter of Gilberth and Hannah Haws, died 4 June of "spinal disease," her body was placed in a coffin constructed of wood from a wagon box and buried in what became known as Fort Field Cemetery.[79] She was likely the first person to die at Fort Utah. Other deaths soon followed. Ann S.B. Robbins, wife of Isaac Robbins, died 11 June 1849, and she was also buried in this early cemetery. George W. Haws and William Davis died sometime in 1849 and were buried in Fort Field Cemetery. Unfortunately, incomplete records make it difficult to ascertain exactly when each passed away.[80]

July opened with a visit from Parley P. Pratt, who had shown so much interest in establishing a colony near Utah Lake in 1848. He preached to the people on Sunday, 1 July, giving "excelent advice."[81]

The next day, 2 July, the colonists met again and enacted two of the first laws of this fledgling community. These regulations give us insight into some of the problems the early occupants faced. A number of the men were apparently spending too much time gambling with the Utes. To discourage this practice, the people enacted a law "for the Suppression of gambling with the Indians." Authorities received the power to fine offenders between $25 and $100. There also appears to have been a problem with shooting guns too near the fort. The regulatory gathering decided to fine people "for Shooting in or near the fort So as to Endanger lives thereby."[82]

Members of the new community met again on 4 July and celebrated Independence Day by organizing a local militia. Approximately sixty men, including sixteen Mormon Battalion veterans, joined Fort Utah's militia. They selected Jefferson Hunt as their captain and Peter W. Conover and Robert T. Thomas as their lieutenants.[83]

The week after Parley P. Pratt returned to Salt Lake City from Utah Valley, he penned a letter to his brother, Orson, then serving a mission in England. Pratt's letter provides an important primary account describing the quality of fishing in the Utah Lake fishery. Pratt wrote:

> I was at the Utah Lake last week, and of all the fisheries I ever saw, that exceeds all. I saw thousands caught by hand, both by Indians and whites. I could buy a hundred, which would each weigh a pound, for a piece of tobacco as large as my finger. They simply put their hand into the stream, and throw them out as fast as they can pick them up.
>
> Five thousand barrels of fish might be secured there annually, just as well as less.[84]

The scene Pratt depicted likely took place on the Provo River near Fort Utah. He described the spawning season that for hundreds of years had prompted the Utes to gather in that area each spring and fish. The majority of the fish the Utes and settlers caught were likely suckers. They probably harvested a good many trout also. Pratt's letter shows that the Utes were now on friendly enough terms with the colonists that they were allowing the settlers to use their fishing grounds.

These fish provided a welcome addition to the pioneer diet. Although many settlers brought cows and had access to dairy products, some of them brought few or no breadstuffs to last until the first harvest. Many were forced to use wild roots, bulbs, greens, and meat from wild animals to supplement their meager meals. The settlers mentioned the importance fish played in their diet. One of the original pioneers wrote, "The river being filled with fish and having a regular fisherman [John S. Higbee and, later, Isaac Higbee] for our captain, it greatly aided our limited amount of breadstuffs."[85]

In mid-July, the settlers' first crop of grain began to ripen, and the farmers eagerly began the harvest. Peter W. Conover and his family cut the first wheat. In April Conover had sown two-and-a-half bushels of wheat. On 16 July, he began harvesting his crop. After the Conovers finished cutting their wheat, a heavy rain poured down for about an hour. Then the weather cleared and the sun shone brightly. After four days, the wheat was dry enough to thresh, which the Conovers accomplished by using a flail and the wind. Peter's sons, Abram, age nineteen, and Charles, age seventeen, took the wheat to Neff's Mill, situated near their former home on Mill Creek in Salt Lake Valley. The boys were gone two days, and when they got back, the family had a feast of loaves. This was the first bread they had tasted since they arrived in April.

The Conover family witnessed a fortuitous occurrence. The heavy rain that fell on their wheat field immediately after they had cut their crop and the bright sunshine that followed the moisture stimulated the sprouting of a new growth of wheat. This wheat grew taller than the first cutting and matured into a good, heavy crop. The Conovers eventually harvested 147 bushels from the two and a half bushels they sowed.[86]

Other settlers also harvested their wheat. Robert T. Thomas took 100 bushels of wheat to the mill in Salt Lake Valley and brought his flour back to Fort Utah.[87] The wheat harvest seems to have been a sufficient one in spite of the problems the settlers faced, and July ended in an encouraging fashion.

However, August began with a tragic incident that infuriated the Utes and adversely affected the lives of the people of the settlement.[88] Three men—Jerome Zabriskie, Richard A. Ivie, and Rufus Stoddard—left Fort Utah and trudged toward the lake, professedly to hunt cattle.[89] Stoddard carried a loaded gun. After

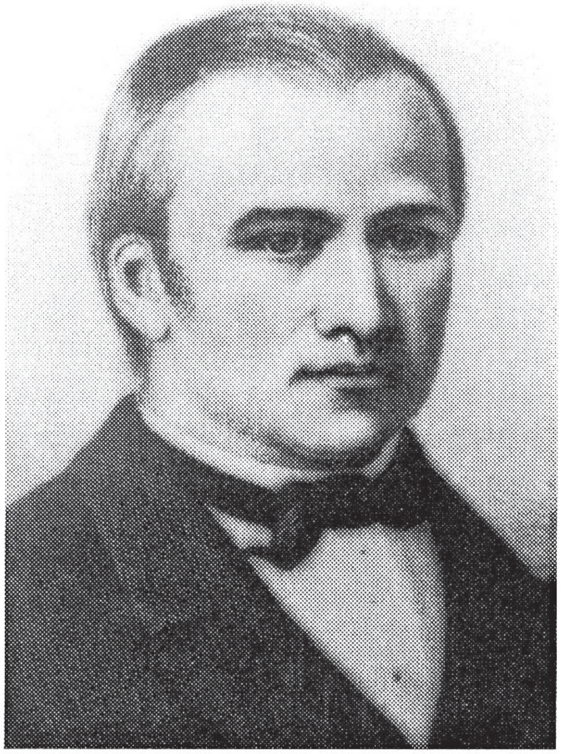

FIGURE 37

Mormon Bishop Newell K. Whitney. *Old Bishop, a Timpanogots Ute who was killed by three Fort Utah settlers, received his name because his appearance and gestures resembled those of Bishop Whitney. Old Bishop "had a Greek nose, with a hump and a hook, and had a peculiar way of snapping his eyes when excited."* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

walking some distance, the three met an Indian known to the settlers by the nickname of Old Bishop because his appearance and gestures resembled those of Mormon Bishop Newell K. Whitney. "He had a Greek nose, with a hump and a hook, and had a peculiar way of snapping his eyes when excited."[90]

Old Bishop's style of dress offended the three settlers; he wore a hickory shirt that Richard Ivie recognized as the one that had been stolen from him.[91] Ivie demanded the shirt, but Old Bishop refused to give it up, claiming that he had bought it. When the three men attempted to forcibly remove it from his back, the Ute allegedly raised his bow and arrow in self defense. At this point, John R. Stoddard aimed his weapon and shot Old Bishop through the head, killing him instantly.

Deciding to keep Old Bishop's death a secret from the Utes, the men devised a plan to hide his body. They dragged or carried the corpse of the dead Ute toward Provo River. When they reached its bank near Box Elder Island where the back water of Utah Lake increased the depth of the stream, they disemboweled the body, filled the abdominal cavity with rocks, and attempted to sink the corpse in deep water.[92] The three setters then returned to Fort Utah.

The Utes mounted a search for Old Bishop when he failed to return to camp that evening. They found his body in the river and were reasonably certain that he had been killed by the settlers. As a result, relations between the Utes and the settlers deteriorated. The colonists found themselves in a very serious situation, but an unlikely source temporarily saved Fort Utah from a potential Indian attack: men traveling the Southern Trail to the gold fields of California.

Endnotes

1. Early History of Provo, 3 April 1849, 21, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

2. John S. Higbee to Brigham Young, 12 April 1849, Brigham Young Office Files, LDS Church Archives.

3. Oliver Boardman Huntington Diary and Reminiscences, Oliver Boardman Huntington Papers, 10:90, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Perry Special Collections).

4. Ibid., 10:91–93.

5. Daniel Spencer, Journal, 17 May 1848, typescript, LDS Church Archives; Eliza R. Snow, Journal, 17 May 1848, as quoted in Eliza R. Snow, *Eliza R. Snow an Immortal: Selected Writings of Eliza R. Snow* (Salt Lake City: Nicholas G. Morgan Sr. Foundation and Sun Lithographing, 1957), 364.

6. Higbee to Young, 12 April 1849.

7. Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 10:95.

8. Utau Settlement Map, 1849 (probable surveyor, William Lemon), LDS Church Archives.

9. Higbee to Young, 12 April 1849.

10. Ibid.; Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 10:95.

11. John D. Lee, Diary, 3 May 1849, as quoted in *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee 1848–1876*, 2 vols., eds. Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 1:106 (hereafter cited as Lee, Diary).

12. Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 10:95–96.

13. Higbee to Young, 12 April 1849.

14. Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 10:96.

15. Higbee to Young, 12 April 1849.

16. Zina Diantha Young, Diary, 14 April 1849, LDS Church Archives.

17. Ibid.

18. Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 10:96–97.

19. Ibid., 10:97–98.

20. Hosea Stout, Diary, 28 April 1849, as quoted in Hosea Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, ed. Juanita Brooks (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 2:351 (hereafter cited as Stout, Diary); Flora Diana Bean Horne, comp., *Autobiography of George Washington Bean, a Utah Pioneer of 1847 and His Family Records* (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1945), 52.

21. Stout, Diary, 19–20 April 1849; Dimick B. Huntington to Brigham Young, 19 April 1849, Brigham Young Office Files.

22. Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 10:98.

23. Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 10:98–99; Early Salt Lake Minutes, 20 May 1849, typescript, LDS Church Archives; Stout, Diary, 28 April 1849; Lee, Diary, 3 May 1849.

24. Historian's Office Journal, 23 March 1850, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

25. John D. Lee wrote that Wanship stole twenty-eight horses in the first raid near Fort Utah. John and Isaac Higbee stated that two animals were killed, and two more were wounded in that attack. When Little Chief followed Wanship with fifteen men, he likely took at least fifteen horses and probably took a few more for spares. If Wanship's camp had about the same number of horses that Little chief's camp possessed before the first raid, it would have had roughly thirty-two horses. Assuming these estimates are close to correct, the two bands possessed a total of about eighty horses. If Lee and Stout were correct when they wrote that forty horses were killed during the two skirmishes in the mountains, this would be a combined loss of about half of the horses belonging to the two bands. Lee, Diary, 3 May 1849; Stout, Diary, 28 April 1849; Higbee Young, 12 April 1849.

26. Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 52.

27. Brigham Young to James Bridger and Louis Vasquez, 19 December 1848, Brigham Young Office Files.

28. Louis Vasquez and James Bridger to Brigham Young, 7 April 1849, Brigham Young Office Files.

29. Ibid.

30. History of the Church, 17 April 1849, 67, LDS Church Archives.

31. Brigham Young to John S. Higbee, 18 April 1849, Brigham Young Office Files.

32. Dimick B. Huntington to Brigham Young, 19 April 1849, Brigham Young Office Files.

33. The type of cartridge the settlers lacked was a forerunner of the modern brass cartridge. It was made of paper rolled into cylindrical form with powder in one end and the ball, which was enclosed in a cloth patch or a thin envelope of leather or bladder, in the other. The end containing the ball was tied closed, and the end containing the powder was folded shut. When the shooter was ready to load, he torn the paper at the folded end, poured in the powder followed by the ball, and tamped in the load with his ramrod. Carl P. Russell, *Guns on the Early Frontiers* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1957), 244–47.

34. Huntington to Young, 19 April 1849.

35. Thomas Bullock, Notes, 22 April 1849, 5, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

36. Ibid.

37. Early Salt Lake Minutes, 5 May 1849.

38. Young, Diary, 3 May 1849.

39. Brigham Young to Chief Walker, 14 May 1849, Brigham Young Office Files. This letter must have been a rough draft or a copy because on the same paper were notes of a meeting that took place the same day in Salt Lake City. In this meeting, Dimick B. Huntington reviewed happenings at Fort Utah. Unless noted otherwise, all the information concerning Waccara's visit to the fort comes from these notes.

40. History of the Church, 12 May 1849, 76–77.

41. Ibid.

42. Brigham Young to Thomas L. Smith, 14 May 1849, Brigham Young Office Files.

43. Young to Walker, 14 May 1849, Brigham Young Office Files.

44. Early History of Provo, 15 May 1849, 21.

45. Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 46; "Provo in 1849," *Provo Daily Enquirer*, 27 November 1894.

46. Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 51.

47. Dimick B. Huntington to Brigham Young, 18 May 1849, Brigham Young Office Files.

48. Brigham Young to Dimick B. Huntington, 19 May 1849, Brigham Young Office Files.

49. Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 52.

50. Early History of Provo, 20 May 1849, 21.

51. Young to Huntington, 19 May 1849.

52. Early History of Provo, 20 May 1849, 21; Robert T. Thomas, "The Autobiography of Robert T. Thomas" as dictated to his son William Thomas in 1888 and found in An Historical Sketch and Genealogy of the Thomas Families 1888–1895, 53–54, LDS Church Archives, (hereafter cited as Thomas, Autobiography).

53. Early History of Provo, 27 May 1849, 21.

54. Ibid., 22. The names of those rebaptized as listed in these records were: Isaac Higbee, Dimick B. Huntington, J.T. Willis, Charlotte Higbee, Mary M. Huntington, Henry Rollins, Jefferson Hunt, James Ivie, Samuel Ewing, Peter W. Conover, Catharine Conover, Ira E. West, Lott E. Huntington, Clark Allen Huntington, John Carter, Elizbeth Ivie, Ellen Nease, Jane Clark, Ann Clark, Francis M. Haws, James Bean, Chauncey W. West, Jabez T. Nowlin, Samuel Clark, Jehu Blackburn, Sarah Holden, Elizabeth Bean, Rebecca Clark, Mary C. Bean, Catharine Holden, George Pickup, Martha L. Huntington, Eliza Pickup, Lewis A. West, Albert Haws, Joseph Hunt, Wesley Wheeler, Alexander Williams, Isabella Williams, and Sarah M. Willis. The names were likely listed in the order that they were baptized. Some may be misspelled.

55. Notes, Early Salt Lake City Meetings, 27 May 1849, LDS Church Archives; Bullock, Notes, 27 May 1849.

56. Brigham Young to Isaac Higbee, 28 May 1849, Brigham Young Office Files.

57. Young, Diary, 19 July 1849.

58. Peter W. Conover, Journal, 1, typescript, Utah State Historical Society.

59. Early History of Provo, 4 June 1849, 23.

60. George Washington Bean, Census of Ft. Utah, 7 June 1849, LDS Church Archives.

61. The men listed in George Washington Bean's 7 June 1849 census whose names do not appear on the Utau Settlement Map, and the number of people in their families, are: Jehu Blackburn, 4; George Corey, 5; Anson Mathews, 2; John Park, 7; Henry Rollins, 1; Ezra Strong, 2; Chauncey Turner, 6; John Wheeler, 10; Joshua Willis, 3; Jefferson Hunt, 11; and Alexander Williams, 9.

62. Although George Washington Bean's census did not include a list of the

men's occupations, the 1850 territorial census did. Thirty men who were original settlers were still present in Provo when the 1850 census was taken. Information for this section comes partially from the occupations listed on the 1850 Census.

63. Lee, Diary, 24 February 1849.

64. *Millennial Star* 11 (1 December 1849): 23:364.

65. Stout, Diary, 12 March 1849.

66. Lee, Diary, 3 and 4 March 1849.

67. Ibid., 99.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Stout, Diary, 12 March 1849.

71. Lee, Diary, 17 March 1849.

72. Stout, Diary, 12 March 1849.

73. Hubert Howe Bancroft, Interview with George Q. Cannon, in John Taylor, Reminiscences, 6, Hubert Howe Bancroft Collection, Harold B. Lee Library, Utah Valley Regional Family History Center, Brigham Young University (hereafter cited as BYU Family History Library).

74. Early Salt Lake Minutes, 14 June 1849, 3–5.

75. Early History of Provo, 17 and 24 June 1849, 23.

76. Ibid., 27 June 1849, 23.

77. Albert Jones, History of the 2nd Ecclesiastical Ward of Provo City, 3, 30 January 1911, LDS Church Archives.

78. Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 51; Andrew Jenson, Manuscript History of Provo City, Utah County, Utah, 2, LDS Church Archives.

79. Emma McDowell Jacobson, History of Early Provo Cemeteries Moved: Fort Wall, Temple Hill, Grandview, 5, Perry Special Collections; Mary Olive Haws York, "Reminiscence of Mary Olive Haws York," *History for Grand View*, 2:80, Provo Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Provo DUP).

80. Jacobson, History of Early Provo Cemeteries, 4–5.

81. Early History of Provo, 1 July 1849, 23.

82. Ibid., 2 July 1849, 23.

83. Thomas, Autobiography, 54; Hamilton Gardner, The Utah Territorial Militia (an unpublished history), 158, typescript, BYU Family History Library.

84. Parley P. Pratt to Orson Pratt, 8 July 1849, in *Millennial Star* 11 (15 November 1849): 22:342–43.

85. "Provo in 1849," 27 November 1894.

86. Conover, Journal, 1.

87. Thomas, Autobiography, 54–5.

88. There is some difference of opinion as to when this event occurred. George Washington Bean, John Clark, and a miscellaneous newspaper article, apparently written by one of the original settlers of Fort Utah, all agree that the incident happened in the early part of August. James Bean, on the other hand, said it happened in January 1850, and Thomas Orr, Jr., recalled it occurred when there was snow on the ground. The author is inclined to agree with George Washington Bean, John Clark, and the newspaper article. George Washington Bean, Autobiography of George Washington

Bean, 44, LDS Archives; Pearl Clark Yates, comp., History of John Clark, 4, typescript in possession of author; "Provo in 1849," 27 November 1894; Lillie Jane Orr Taylor, ed., *Life History of Thomas J. Orr Jr: Pioneer Stories of California and Utah* (published by author, 1930), 17; James Bean, Statement on the death of Old Bishop, 12 June 1854, LDS Church Archives.

89. Unless otherwise noted, the description of this incident comes from two main sources: Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 56; James Bean, Statement on the death of Old Bishop.

90. "Provo in 1849," 27 November 1894.

91. There is some disagreement over what caused the problem between Old Bishop and the three settlers. Almost everybody agrees that the trouble originated over a stolen shirt. I believe this is what happened. However, Thomas Orr, Jr. remembered 65 years later at age 83, that the incident was caused by the settlers breaking a treaty they made with the Utes. Orr stated, "We made a treaty with the Utah Indians to keep them from stealing our cattle. By the provisions of this treaty they agreed not to molest our cattle if we agreed not to kill the wild game which they depended on for a living."

About the actual killing Orr said, "The Indian knew full well the whites were hunting deer and that they had violated the treaty. A quarrel between the Indian and the two men ensued. [Orr does not mention Richard Ivie.] Dr. Stoddard stood with his rifle across his arm, prepared for action, and when the Indian started to kill Lorentzky [his name for Zabriskie] Stoddard shot first and the Indian dropped dead." Taylor, *Life History of Thomas Orr, Jr.*, 17.

92. James Goff later stated, "The Indians assert that annually on the anniversary of his death, old Bishop appears on the bank of the river & slowly takes the stones one by one & throws them into the river. This assertion has caused some superstitious fisherman to watch the river with the hope of having an interview with the Ghost of old Bishop." This is written in pencil at the bottom of James Bean, Statement on the Death of Old Bishop.

CHAPTER 7

Unexpected Visitors

FROM LATE JULY UNTIL EARLY NOVEMBER 1849, UTAH Valley played host to a motley array of unanticipated guests, hundreds of forty-niners on the way to the gold fields of California. These travelers reached the Great Basin perilously late in the season to safely complete their trek to the Golden Shore over the northern route. They feared that by the time they reached the Sierra Nevadas, snow would block their way. Also, many of their animals were worn out, and people who used the northern route to return from California to the Basin reported that most of the animal feed had been consumed by earlier groups. Sheldon Young, a forty-niner who arrived in Salt Lake City late in July, remembered what he had heard about travel conditions on the northern route: "Distressing times on the road. A great many were returning to the Mormon settlement. A great many had lost their teams and were taking it afoot."[1] Another forty-niner, Jacob Y. Stover, reported that his company's cattle had sore feet. He also wrote, "Some of the emigrants [going to California] were coming back; some had been out fifty miles and said the grass was burned and there was nothing for our stock to eat."[2] These dangerous conditions convinced large numbers of tardy forty-niners to stay in the Great Basin until spring.

Many of these latecomers contemplated wintering in Salt Lake Valley but found that there was little work available. Also, the Mormons had their reservations about playing host to hundreds of gold seekers needing shelter through the winter. The permanent residents feared that horses and cattle belonging to the forty-niners would seriously deplete available animal feed, causing their own cattle to suffer from lack of forage. Church leaders also worried about the welfare of their people. Brigham Young felt that, "So large an accession of mouths, in addition to those of our own emigration, threatened almost a famine for bread."[3]

Mormon leaders decided to encourage the forty-niners to take the Southern Route to California rather than winter in the Great Basin. In August 1849, Jefferson Hunt, who had taken a party of Mormons over the Southern Route on horseback in the fall of 1847 and had returned with some supplies and a herd of cattle the next spring, made it known that if the forty-niners could gather 100 wagons, he would guide them to California for ten dollars per wagon. Hunt suggested that the travelers should drive their worn out stock to Utah Valley, where the animals could recuperate until October. Then they could start the trip south. A group of gold seekers gathered 100 wagons whose drivers were willing to hire a guide, and the assemblage moved south to Utah Valley early in August.[4]

Other groups of forty-niners also rendezvoused in Utah Valley. Hundreds of these men on the way to California camped in various places throughout the Valley for varying lengths of time and awaited the beginning of their trek south to California. Some gold seekers chose to stay on American Fork Creek, some moved a little farther south to Hobble Creek, and one group bivouacked on a small creek just south of Fort Utah.

The settlers of the fort benefited in several ways from having their temporary guests camped near the settlement. The visitors provided a market for the pioneers' fresh and cured meat, flour, vegetables, oats, milk, and butter. Sometimes the forty-niners paid for these items with hard cash. Mormon supplies were not cheap. Flour sold for ten dollars and bacon for twelve dollars per hundred weight. Often, to the delight of the Mormons, the California-bound emigrants traded clothing and hard-to-get groceries such as coffee, tea, and sugar.

Many of the gold seekers were also anxious to trade their wagons and oxen for horses. They found that the increased demand for horses during the summer and fall of 1849 had greatly magnified their value. A good horse, which could have normally been purchased for $25 to $30, sold for about $200.[5] The travelers were lucky if they could find a settler who would take four oxen and a wagon in exchange for a horse. George Washington Bean, one of the original settlers of Fort Utah, remembered how the pioneers had bartered for horses with Chief Waccara earlier in the year "and in turn the settlers made good trades with the Emigrant Gold Seekers of 1849 who stopped at Provo."[6] The emigrants also purchased many horses from the Utes.

John Clark was another original settler of Fort Utah whose family benefited from the presence of the forty-niners. Two of his brothers, Joseph and Riley G., had brought many horses and mules from California to Utah in 1848.[7] Clark fondly remembered his family's trading experiences with the Argonauts:

> That fall the Gold Rush excitement in California brought many people through Utah, carrying heavy loads of all kinds of goods. Wagons were broken and teams exhausted, so the travelers were glad to exchange goods and other supplies for fresh teams and mended wagons. Joseph and Riley G. took many of our mules and horses, including some very fine bred mares, and traded them for wagons, harness, saddle, food, clothes and blankets; making the family very comfortable for the winter.[8]

The California-bound emigrants bestowed upon the settlers of Fort Utah yet another advantage: safety. With the travelers camped in Utah Valley, the emigrants and settlers out numbered the Utes who, consequently, acted less belligerently toward the colonists. In addition, the Mormons and their visitors worked together to guard their joint herds of horses and cattle.[9]

The gold seekers' journals, diaries, letters, and reminiscent accounts provide us with a view of pioneer life and Indian relations in Utah Valley that can be gained from no other source. Their depictions of Fort Utah and its setting add to our knowledge of that structure.

The gold seekers left interesting impressions of Utah Valley that are, in many instances, quite different from those left by most early Mormon explorers and settlers. A sampling of the few available descriptions left by the settlers has already been cited. Most of the entries are terse, practical, and unimaginative, the kinds of descriptions one would expect from farmers and stockmen. The accounts gave useful information such as the number of streams in the valley, which watercourses had trees along them, the location of good pasture land, and the amount of timber found in the canyons and on the mountain sides. As a contrast, some descriptions left by the forty-niners, who likely had more free time in which to write than the settlers did, are almost poetic. These entries are filled with imagery and rave about the area's breathtaking scenery. When combined, the practical descriptions of

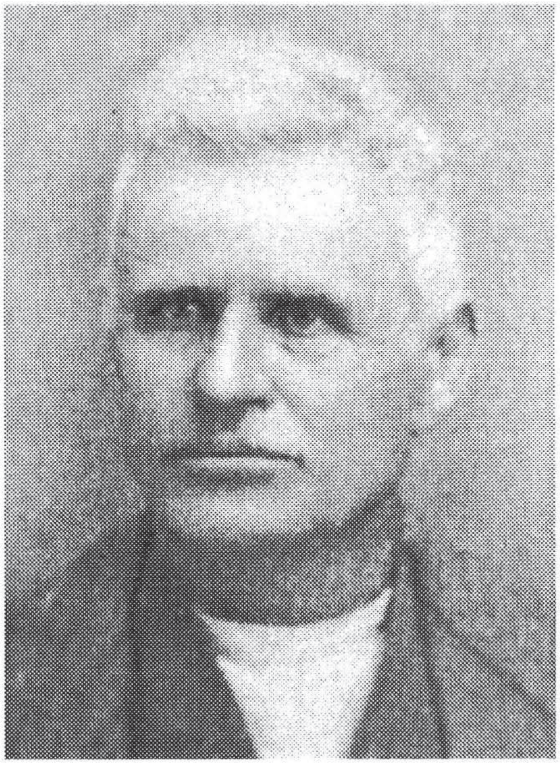

FIGURE 38

Joseph Clark served in the Mormon Battalion before settling at Fort Utah. *After he and his brother, Riley G., were discharged, they drove a small herd of horses from California to the Mormon settlements in the Great Basin. In the fall of 1849, they made a good profit by selling the animals to forty-niners who were on their way to California on the Southern Route.* PIONEERS AND PROMINENT MEN the pioneers and the sublime pictures painted by the forty-niners present a broader, more complete view of the Valley.

Forty-niner Adonijah Strong Welch, left an account of his visit to Utah Valley. Welch, who was a well-educated man, left his home in Michigan for the gold fields. The company he traveled with spent the long layover in Utah Valley "encamped on the banks of a small stream in the Southern part of the valley, about a mile from the Fort." Welch spent a considerable amount of his time hunting and angling for "fine speckled trout, weighing from three to five pounds." He wrote in a letter to a friend, "When tired of these pursuits, I read Shakespeare or gaze on the sublime scenery on every side of us." Welch went on to describe the valley as being "surrounded by steep mountains that are whitened by perpetual snows, and towering far above the volume of clouds which roll along their rugged sides."[10]

In September 1849, William Lorton, also a forty-niner, penned several sentences describing Utah Valley. After saying what a beautiful location the Point of the Mountain would be for a residence, (apparently oblivious to the wind and inclement weather that buffet the Point), Lorton penned the following about the valley: "The mountains around its edge to the east are high and covered with grass. The rows of trees and the dark line of scrubbary denote the mountain streams that put into it."[11] From Lorton's view point, the valley was a lovely place to visit, not a location where, by hard work, one could support a family.

Joseph P. Hamelin spent only a few days traveling through Utah Valley in early November. He was impressed with everything in the Valley but the Jordan River, which he evaluated as a tourist, not as a settler who was dependent upon its fish and life-giving waters. After climbing to the top of Point of the Mountain, which he called "a miniature South Pass," he penned that his company "had a beautiful view of Utah Lake." Then he wrote that he, "Walked to River Jordan the outlet to Utah [Lake]–The smell of this water is quite disagreeable, though to the thirsty man quite palatable."[12] His description of the Jordan may alter our perception of what the river was like in 1849.

The next day Hamelin was much more excited about his surroundings. On 7 November he wrote in his journal:

> Our route today lay along the border of the Lake. The scenery around was magnificent; the white capped peaks, only rivaled in purity by the clouds overhanging them. Have read of [Lakes] Como and Leman, but think they cannot surpass the romance Nature has spread around this beautiful sheet.[13]

Perhaps William Farrer, a Mormon headed for California over the Southern Route, penned the best description of Fort Utah's setting. He wrote:

> About noon we crossed small spring branch and in a few rods arrived at Provo river it was a large rapid stream about 3 rods wide: the settlement is on the banks of this stream they had a fort built it is a very pretty situation there is a good deal of timber on this stream scattered thro the bottom in the vally principally Cedar and Cottonwood: they have a City laid out East of the Fort a very prety situation.[14]

Jacob Y. Stover and William Lorton were among those emigrants who left helpful depictions of Fort Utah. Their descriptions show that by fall 1849 the colonists had finished the north and south sides of the fort, complete with large gates at each end. The pioneers had also finished the bastion, which seems to have become the focal point of the fort. Stover later recalled:

> They had log cabins in or around a square of about one acre of land; inside of it, in the center of this lot, they had planted forks, putting poles overhead and brush, straw, and dirt, and had planted a cannon on top of the dirt to protect themselves from Indians.[15]

On 26 September, Lorton wrote in his diary:

> The fort here is built of logs, the doors [of the cabins] inside and two gates, one at north and other south. An open log shed built of huge logs and a heavy mounted cannon on top, brought by Captain Hunt from California.[16]

Another visitor, this one a female, arrived in Utah Valley in mid-August. Dimick B. Huntington, energetic and footloose, made another of his frequent trips to Salt Lake City. While there, he visited his sister, Zina Diantha Young. Later, he sought and gained Brigham Young's permission to take her back to Utah Valley for a visit. On 13 August, Zina and her two little sons left Salt Lake City in a wagon driven by Dimick's son, Allen. That night the party camped on Dry Creek in Salt Lake Valley, and the next day they completed their journey to Fort Utah, arriving that evening just as the skies turned dark. The trip took only two days.[17]

Soon after her arrival at Fort Utah, Young began what was very likely the initial school in Utah Valley. Samuel Clark's daughter, Anna, became one of the first students. Calling her teacher by the colloquial title "Aunt," Anna later reminisced:

> That summer Aunt Zina Young came down from Salt Lake City and pitched her tent and took up school and taught an A-B-C class. She also taught some needle work. She taught me to hem stitch. That was my first schooling.[18]

Seven-year-old Jane Park, daughter of John and Louisa Park, also attended this school in the first fort. She later wrote of this humble facility."The furniture was not imported from Chicago. . . . we had slabs with four legs for our seats." She also recollected:

> The Indians would come and look from the outside of the Fort through a little opening or window into the school room. Some of the big girls would try to stretch their faces and the Indians seeing this would quickly go from the window. How far I advanced under our kind teacher, Zina D. Young, I know not. McGuffy First Reader, a little blue book was the leading book of study and a book of great weight and importance, it was to my childish mind.[19]

Young taught this school for only a short period of time. She arrived at Fort Utah on 14 August and left to go back to Salt Lake City a little over a month later on 18 September. Despite the brevity of her stay, her classes seem to have made a lasting impression on her students.

By the end of August, the pioneers had harvested many of their crops. Opinions varied among the pioneers about how plentiful their yield was. John Clark and George Washington Bean agreed that the harvest was meager. Clark remembered, "We raised only a small crop of wheat, oats and potatoes that year; not enough for our needs."[20] Bean wrote, "Our crops this year did not amount to much as the frosts were both early and late, and the soil was cold with considerable mineral [alkali] developed from irrigating."[21]

Robert T. Thomas gave a mixed review. "Our wheat crop was good," he said, "but the early frost killed much of our corn befor it got ripe."[22] Cephas Arms, a forty-niner, was more positive. While camping near Fort Utah, he wrote in his journal that he and his companions had "plenty of vegetables and [were] quite comfortably fixed."[23] Their only source of vegetables would have been from the settlers.

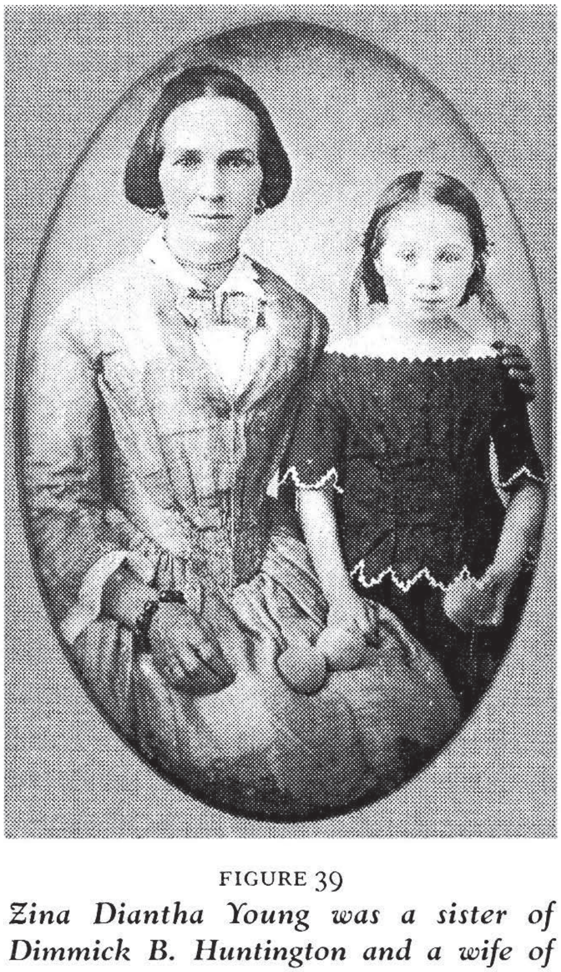

FIGURE 39

Zina Diantha Young was a sister of Dimmick B. Huntington and a wife of Brigham Young. *She visited Fort Utah in the summer of 1849 and became the settlement's first school teacher. Young is pictured here with her daughter, Zina P. Young, who was born 3 April 1850.* COURTESY MARY B.F. WOODWARD.

Perhaps the opinions of individual farmers about the overall success of the first harvest were influenced by the varying sizes of their own yields. At any rate, the settlers harvested enough to last them through the winter, barring any unforeseen emergencies.

During August 1849, the grim reaper also harvested a small crop. At least two more people died. John Rogers Robins, the son of Isaac and Ann S.B. Robbins, died 9 August, and Harriet Maria Turner, fourteen-year-old daughter of Chauncey and Hannah Turner, passed away the last day of the month. Both were buried in Fort Field Cemetery.[24]

The settlers finished the bastion in the middle of Fort Utah late in August 1849. The previous April, when an Indian attack seemed imminent, Brigham Young instructed the inhabitants of Fort Utah:

> As quick as you can hoist your Cannon to the top of your Fort, you will act wisely . . . and this will be of considerable assistance to keep any hostile Indians away from your Farm.[25]

Probably because fear of Indian attack soon faded, and other chores seemed more important, the pioneers were slow to move on Young's suggestion. They likely delayed work on the task until the death of Old Bishop riled the Utes and made the completion of the bastion seem much more desirable.

Workmen started by placing strong, forked posts in the ground making a ten or twelve-foot-tall framework on a slightly elevated mound of dirt in the middle of the fort. Then they laid sturdy logs from post to post along the top of this framework and placed timbers on those logs to make a flat roof. This they covered with brush, straw, wood chips, and dirt. Then workmen hoisted a six-pound cannon to the top of the bastion. After the cannon was in place, the colonists erected a log bulwark, nearly breast high, around the edges of the roof. As a finishing touch, they cut loopholes on each side of this breastwork through which defenders could fire small arms. Finally, late in August, the pioneers had completed the thirty-square-foot bastion. Settlers used the space beneath it as a place to hold meetings, banquets, and other community gatherings.[26]

It was on this bastion that Fort Utah's first tragedy occurred on 1 September 1849.[27] The small settlement's militia drilled almost every day, and on this day, a number of forty-niners wanted to see the militiamen fire the cannon which sat on top of the bastion. They contributed enough powder to make at least two charges. Lieutenant William Dayton, who was in charge of the cannon, received the powder. He "declared that he would wake up the natives by an extra heavy shot."[28] Dayton and James B. Porter prepared the charges by wrapping one and a half pounds of rifle powder in old cotton cloth and bits of dried grass.

Then Dayton waited for eighteen-year-old George Washington Bean to return from working in the fields with his father. When Bean came within hearing distance, Dayton called to him, telling him that he had arranged for a cannon

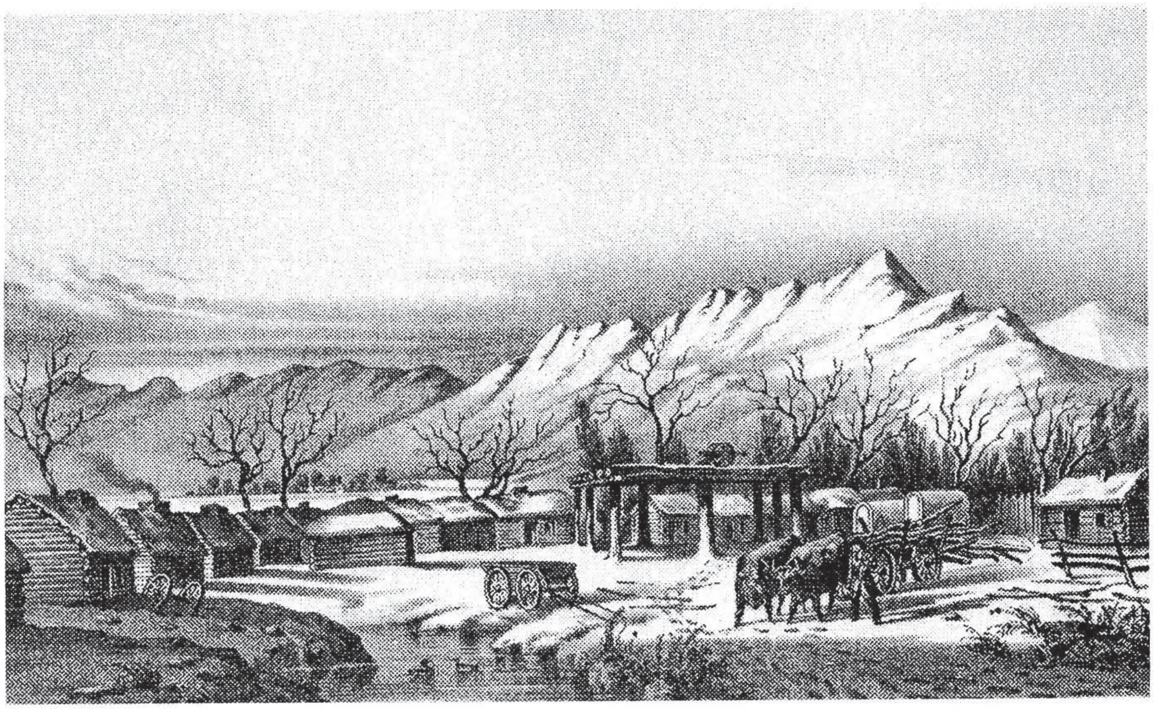

FIGURE 40
Fort Utah, Winter 1849–50. *This view of the Utah Settlement shows the fort's central figure, a twelve-foot-high, thirty-square-foot bastion with a six-pound iron cannon on top. This structure, which served as a community gathering place, was the site of the colony's first tragedy.* HOWARD STANSBURY, EXPEDITION TO THE GREAT SALT LAKE.

practice and needed his assistance. Young Bean agreed to help, and at sundown the two men mounted the ladder leading to the top of the bastion. They rammed the charge down the cannon barrel and fired it.

At this point, the two citizen artillerymen became careless and began tamping the second cartridge into the cannon without first cleaning the barrel with a damp swab to douse any sparks left from the first shot. The men were in the act of forcing the powder charge down the barrel with a heavy hickory ramrod when sparks left from the first shot prematurely ignited the second charge. A deafening roar rent the stillness of the evening. The blast propelled both Dayton and Bean thirty feet off the bastion and twelve feet down to the ground.

Captain Jefferson Hunt was the first to reach the bodies. He found Dayton dead. A splinter from the ramrod had severed his jugular vein. Dayton left a young widow and a six-month-old daughter. The settlers later buried his body in the Fort Field Cemetery.

Hunt then rushed to Bean and pulled a log from the bastion's breastwork off his body. He found Bean terribly mangled but still alive. The victim's clothes were partially burned off, and his eyes and face were so horribly powder burned and filled with splinters that he was temporarily blinded. The right side of his neck, chest, and thigh were also burned and full of splinters. Bean's right arm and hand were seriously lacerated and his left hand was blown off. Witnesses found it in Celia Hunt's dooryard, Bean's ring still on the little finger. Miraculously, when the victim was propelled to the ground, none of his bones were broken.

Men carefully placed Bean's body on a makeshift stretcher composed of a sturdy quilt covered by a sheet. The stretcher bearers started toward James Bean's cabin. By this time, such a large crowd had gathered that the makeshift medics found it difficult to get through. Once Bean was in the cabin, Houghton Conover saddled a horse and left for Salt Lake City. He hoped to secure the services of Dr. James Blake, who had recently arrived in Salt Lake Valley with Captain Howard Stansbury's U.S. Topographical Engineers.

Bean's friends and family stayed by his side all night praying for him. Agonizing hours later, Dr. Blake entered the Bean cabin, removed his cloak, put on his medical gown, and hastily examined the youth. After completing his examination, Blake cleared the room of everyone with the exception of Bean's father and those who were to help with the operation. Without the aid of anesthetic, the doctor amputated young George's forearm three-and-a-half inches below the elbow.

Jacob Y. Stover, a visiting forty-niner who may have acted as one of Dr. Blake's assistants, claims to have witnessed the amputation of Bean's arm. He later remembered, "I was watching and stood it pretty well till they commenced sawing the bone off; the man commenced to quiver; I had to leave, I got pretty weak."[29]

After completing the amputation, Dr. Blake proceeded to probe Bean's body for buried splinters. The largest one he removed was a three-inch-long piece of wood the diameter of a pencil. This came from Bean's thigh. Each day for a week or ten days, the doctor probed for more slivers of wood. Blake eventually filled a fruit jar with approximately 200 splinters of varying sizes. The doctor also removed several bone fragments from the stub of Bean's arm. All this he performed without the aid of any painkiller except Bean's "heart tonic," consisting of "sweetened hot water with brandy" mixed in.

The patient's face and eyes scabbed over, leaving him sightless, and for some time he was deaf in one ear. About the only food he could consume was "beef tea" or beef broth. Many family members and friends comforted him as best they could through his long, painful days and nights. One new friend Bean made demonstrates the close relationship that developed between some of the Mormons and forty-niners. Cephas Arms, a gold seeker, began to feel restless with his long layover in Utah Valley. He made his time pass faster by "rendering daily assistance to a man who had his arm blown away soon after we came here."[30]

Bean later felt like his lengthy period of recuperation was a blessing in disguise. Friendly Indians also visited him and taught him their language. In return, he taught them English. Thanks, in part, to the extended period of his recovery, Bean became proficient in the Ute language, and within several years he had developed into a noted interpreter.

Later in September, another newsworthy event occurred at Fort Utah. This occasion, one of the most important in the fort's short history, proved to be much more enjoyable for the people of the colony. On the afternoon of Friday, 14 September, Brigham Young and his entourage of Salt Lake City's leading men and women climbed into carriages and wagons and started for Utah Valley where they intended to stay for several days.[31] In addition to Brigham Young and his wife, the aggregate included Willard Richards, and John S. Higbee and their wives and Thomas Bullock and Truman O. Angell. Many other leaders and lesser lights followed in their vehicles. When the group reached Brigham Young's farm, they paused long enough to eat their fill of melons then continued on to the Cottonwood Settlement, where they stayed for the night.

The next morning at 7:00 A.M., the group continued its journey. They paused at the hot spring near Point of the Mountain. A little later all carriage passengers disembarked and climbed on foot to the top of the Point. Then they reentered their conveyances and traveled to Dry Creek (Lehi) and on to American Fork Creek, where the party noticed several camps of gold seekers. Further on they traveled over an extensive sagebrush plain and past three beautiful groves of cedars. After they passed a fourth grove, they could see the trees in which Fort Utah was nestled. The men of the fort were just driving in the cattle for the night. Thomas Bullock wrote of the welcome the caravan received, "The 'old Pioneer gun' belched forth our introduction to the Fort."[32]

Bullock also left an account describing the area surrounding the fort and some of the activities that took place in the settlement that evening. He wrote:

> On crossing the Island [formed by a branch of the Provo River] we saw some beautiful timber as any in the Valley—we then crossed the "Provo" a beautiful river about 5 rods wide & from 16 to 24 inches deep—on reaching the bank we were met by all the Inhabitants at 25 min p. [past] 5. at the gate of the Fort was a raised platform, on which was the Canon under the platform was fixed 4 tables covered with the good things of the Earth—we who had just arrived, (about 150) sat down at three tables—& partook to our satisfaction. blessing was asked by Prest. Young at 20 min to 6.[33]

The next day, 16 September, was Sunday, and at mid-morning both Mormons and a number of interested gold seekers gathered in the shade of the trees near the fort and listened to some preaching. Fortunately, Thomas Bullock took notes of the proceedings. These notes offer a glimpse into the character of early religious meetings at Fort Utah. The sermons that were preached may help explain why some forty-niners left the valley with mixed feelings toward the Mormons. Apostle Franklin D. Richards gave the first sermon in which he indicated that the community's first harvest of wheat was not as bad as several of the settlers later recalled it to be. Richards stated:

> We [h]ad heard that the Frosts had cut off your bread stuff—but [a]r[e] glad to find it so very diff[eren]t . . . . as we [a]r[e] husbanding the Wheat of the Lord. we ought to be careful how to save that Wheat.[34]

Later in his sermon, Richards hinted that some of parents in the fort were neglecting their children's spiritual welfare, and, as a result, the youngsters were becoming a little too wild. He warned:

> If you dont begin to train your chil[dren]. to do good—they will study evil—[and] perhaps their everlasting welfare, [and] yours—depends on your training of them properly—that our little chil[dren]. may gro[w] up as plants of renown—[and] not [h]av[e] the sins to beset them that [h]av[e] beset us - [and] when they [a]r[e] bap[tize]d. at 8 y[ea]rs old—the Sp[irit] of Prophecy will rest upon them.[35]

Never one to pass up an opportunity for proselytizing, Richards spent the rest of his sermon seeking to convert those forty-niners who were present. He regaled the gold seekers with the following words:

> Perhaps the Emigrants may think me exclusive to my bre[thre]n & sis[ters]—but its not so—the same blessings [a]r[e] for you—[and] we [a]r[e] so highly blest because we seek to do his Will—[and] the 1st. step for you to obtain that comfort is to seek first the K[ingdom] of God, [and] His riteousness [and] if you find others poss[ess]ing bless[in]gs. that you want—when you find the K[ingdom] of God. be born of water [and] Sp[irit] [and] get into it—[and] enjoy these blessings.[36]

After carrying on in this vein for some time, Richards ended with this prediction:

> Many who [a]r[e] going to the Gold mines intending to get a bag of Gold —will be glad to get away from there [and] come [and] get a home in our midst so as to be in peace—[and] many of them will be willing to hand over liberally to help forward the cause of truth.[37]

Apostle Erastus Snow followed Franklin D. Richards. He began by saying he felt "that the remarks [and] exhortations [h]av[e] been good to S[ain]t. [and] Sinner. our own p[eo]pl[e] and Emigrants."[38] Some of the forty-niners may have been stung by these words, but if the emigrants resented being called sinners, Snow apparently didn't notice. Like Richards, he also spent a good portion of his sermon trying to convert these gentiles. In such a manner was the Sabbath spent.

During their trip to Fort Utah, the LDS First Presidency, consisting of Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards, took the time to visit the suffering invalid, George Washington Bean, who had now been bedridden from his accident for more than two weeks. The Mormon president knew of Bean's misfortunes before reaching Fort Utah. He received what he termed the "unpleasant intelligence" from an express rider on 3 September while he was traveling toward Ogden.[39]

When the Presidency entered the Bean cabin, young George was still blind and racked with pain. Mrs. Bean asked the Mormon leader, "Brother Brigham, do you think he can live?"[40]

Young answered reassuringly, "Of course he can, and will."

The Mormon President moved across the room toward the patient, took his hand, and inquired, "George, do you want to live?"

The injured man answered, "Yes, if I can do any good."

"Then you shall live," Young replied confidently.

One of Young's counselors anointed Bean's head with consecrated oil, the other counselor "sealed" the anointing, and "Brother Brigham" gave Bean a powerful and reassuring blessing. Bean later wrote that when he received the blessing, "It was like an electric current that ran through me from head to foot and it took the severe pain with it. . . . God saved me through the Prophets' prayers."[41] By the time the spiritual leaders left the Bean cabin, the youthful patient felt comforted and optimistic. Later, when the scabs came off his face and eyes, George Washington Bean regained his sight. He gradually made a complete recovery.

Visiting and local leaders took care of some secular business Monday, 17 September. At 9:25 A.M. Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, and others climbed aboard three carriages. Accompanied by five horsemen, the group set out to look for a "location for a town & found a very eligible place about 2 miles S[outh] East of the Fort where it was decided to build a city."[42] The reconnoitering party located this "eligible place" near

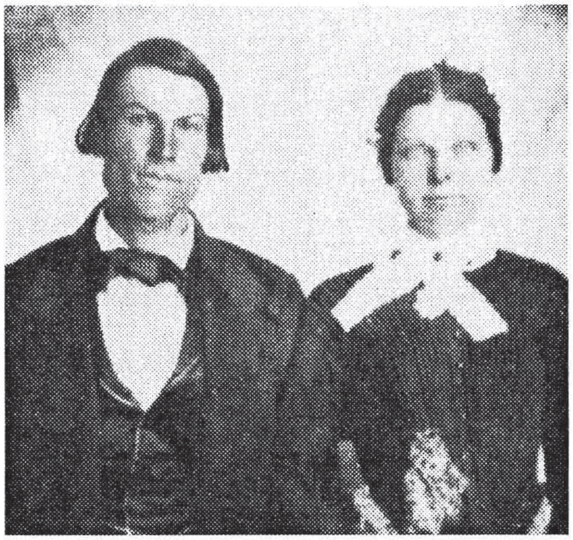

FIGURE 41

George Washington Bean is seen with his wife, Elizabeth, on their wedding day in 1853. *Bean lost his left hand and forearm in a tragic accident caused by the premature discharge of Fort Utah's cannon. After lingering near death for many days, Bean gradually made a complete recovery. He later became an Indian interpreter, clerk, school teacher, and judge.* FLORA DIANA BEAN HORNE, AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON BEAN.

where Center Street and University Avenue currently intersect. The land in this area, which geologists later determined to be situated on a bench left by the Stansbury Level of Lake Bonneville, was slightly elevated and safe from flooding. There was also less alkali in this vicinity than there was in the lowlands where the first settlers had built Fort Utah.

The Mormon leaders intended the plat for the future city to be "a mile square—to be laid off in blocks of 4 acres each, divided into 8 lots of ½ acre each."[43] They planned for the streets to be five rods wide. These early city planners intended to build a chapel and school on the central block. The plat for the city was not actually drawn until the next spring.

The small cavalcade took advantage of this opportunity to do further exploration of the surrounding country. They drove onto a tableland, descended from it to the Spanish Trail, and traveled on the trail for some distance, pausing at "2 beautiful Springs of cold water."[44] Then they turned back and returned to the fort by way of a new road. After being drenched by a thunderstorm, they arrived back at the fort at 1:00 P.M.

An hour after the small company returned, Fort Utah was hit by strong winds and pelted by a severe hailstorm that descended "like a rapid succession of a boy's large marbles."[45] Many of the people had never seen such a violent storm of that type. The hail nearly covered the ground, and in many places it piled up three to four inches deep. The storm damaged the crops by breaking down the unharvested buckwheat and tearing corn leaves into strips.

At "early candle light," after the storm had passed, the leaders met in Jefferson Hunt's cabin and discussed the possibility of establishing settlements in the land south of Fort Utah. Since Hunt had traveled over the southern trail, he fielded many questions about the route and possible locations for future settlements. The men showed a high degree of enthusiasm for the possibilities.

Soon after this meeting adjourned at about 9:00 P.M., a dance commenced in Bishop Higbee's cabin. By September, forty-niner Jacob Y. Stover had become well-acquainted with the young men of Fort Utah. They informed him of the dance to be held at Bishop Higbee's that night and invited him to attend. Later in his life, he fondly remembered this ball.

About dark Stover met the boys in the fort's square, and they took him to Higbee's cabin. Stover later wrote:

> Old Brigham was sitting in there by the side of a young lady, the school ma'am of the village [Zina Diantha Young] who my partner had been going with to all the dances since we had been there. The boys said, "We will tell you something. She is one of Brigham's wives; if you will go with us after the dance, you will see them go in that little house over yonder; that is where they will sleep."

> We went into the dancing room. Brigham got up, gave out a hymn, and sung; made a long prayer, and led out the school ma'am on the floor; three couples came out. One of my friends urged me to take a partner and go out, so I did and had the honor of dancing in a set with Brigham.[46]

A beautiful new moon illuminated the fort, and the dancers continued to trip the light fantastic until midnight.

In the above description of the dance he attended in Isaac Higbee's cabin, Jacob Stover indicated there had been several dances since his company's arrival. The presence of the gold seekers apparently stimulated a minor social whirl in the settlement, and it seems that the pioneers arranged many dances and banquets especially for their visitors.

Accounts left by the forty-niners give us a glimpse into the social interaction that took place between the emigrants and the inhabitants of the fort. Referring to a celebration held on the day Brigham Young arrived at Fort Utah, Cephas Arms recorded:

> Brigham Young was here last Saturday, and the Mormons made a feast to which all the emigrants were invited; we had an excellent dinner, though just as the sun was setting we left the table.[47]

Apparently the fort's inhabitants served their various visitors in two shifts. The emigrants left the table about sunset, and that was the time Brigham Young's party arrived.

The pioneers also gave the company Charles Stuart traveled with "A grand Supper & dance . . . the night previous to . . . departure for Los Angeles."[48] These Argonauts left Fort Utah 15 August, a month before Brigham Young arrived.

William B. Lorton passed through Utah Valley late in September. He mentioned one dance and then added a bit of heart-wrenching local color:

> Have a "Fandango" in the fort which lasted till daylight. A mexican [was] sitting out by the door with a steeple-crowned hat and Mexican blanket around him; his company had left him and he was sick. He could not speak English.[49]

On 18 September 1849, the day after the dance in Isaac Higbee's cabin, Brigham Young's party began their return trip to Salt Lake City. Six or seven carriages carried the leaders and some of the women. Zina Diantha Young and Susan Snively accompanied Brigham Young. After a pleasant two-day drive, the company reached the city about 3:00 P.M. on 19 September.[50]

With the departure of Brigham Young and his entourage, the settlers and Indians focused their attention upon the gold seekers once again. During their long stay in Utah Valley, the forty-niners lived in close contact with the colonists and the Utes. The day-by-day association with the Timpanogots helped the Argonauts form opinions about these temporary neighbors. Some of the forty-niners wrote down these notions, and a number of these travelers recorded a few of their personal experiences with the Utes.

William B. Lorton and other forty-niners noted that the Utes were numerous in the area.[51] In the opinion of Adonijah Strong Welch, the Indians were "not dangerous."[52] Vincent A. Hoover agreed that the Utes intended no harm to the emigrants, but noted that the Indians harbored different feelings toward the Mormons than they professed to have toward the forty-niners. Hoover wrote, "They have a great dislike to the Mormons. . . . [but] have taken a great liking to the Emigrants, & by signs sho the difference."[53] Hoover also mentioned that the Utes had killed several Mormon horses just a few days earlier. This must have been one of the "signs" he noticed. Cephas Arms also observed that the Utes caused "the Mormons considerable trouble by stealing corn and horses."[54] Since the Utes saw the forty-niners as good trading partners and temporary guests, it was probably easier for them to like the gold seekers than it was for them to get along with the Mormons, who intended to stay in Utah Valley permanently.

Emigrants and Ute children seemed to mix well and have a good time together. Cephas Arms wrote, "Norman [Arms' brother-in-law] and two or three little Indian boys had a frolic . . . throwing water on each other; the little fellows enjoyed it much, and gave Hunha Punbra (red hair) as they call him a good dunking."[55]

Even though the Utes professed friendship with the gold seekers, this friendship was apparently not deep enough to keep the Utes from occasionally helping themselves to the emigrants' property. This appears to be the most troublesome annoyance the emigrants encountered in their dealings with the natives of Utah Valley. Joseph P. Hamelin wrote concerning this problem with the Utes, "They are very inoffensive but troublesome, adepts in slight of hand &c."[56] When the Utes drove off some of his company's cattle, a search party set out to find their stock. The gold seekers followed an Indian trail into a canyon and recovered their animals. Hamelin observed, "This is not theft among the Utahs, only a mode of speculation; expecting re-muneration for bringing back stolen cattle."[57]

This thievery probably led to near confrontations on more than one occasion. On 26 September 1849, William B. Lorton, who camped on Hobble Creek with a gathering of emigrants, visited Fort Utah and stayed overnight. When Lorton returned to his camp the next day, Cephas Arms informed him that the Utes had stolen forty pounds of bacon from the side of his wagon. Emigrants later found the cloth the bacon had been wrapped in discarded in a nearby slough. Lorton wrote of this incident:

> This was melancholy intelligence for me, as it was all the meat I possessed; bad luck appeared to befall me in every form, and I swore that if I found the thief I would shoot him, and loaded my revolver for this purpose.[58]

Some of the personal encounters between the emigrants and the Utes offer insight into Ute temperament and lifestyle. Near Point of the Mountain at the hot springs, an emigrant named Charley Merchant indulged in a shooting match with Old Elk, the notorious Ute chief. After the travelers had settled into camp near the spring, Old Elk and some of his men paid them a visit. The Ute chief, who was considered by his tribesmen to be a crack shot, challenged any emigrant in camp to a shooting contest. The winner of each round of the match would receive a dollar.

W.B. Taylor, a member of the emigrant company described the contest and the results:

> Charley Merchant, one of the best shots I ever knew, was pitted against [Old Elk]. Thirty paces were measured off and a piece of paper, dollar size, was placed upon a tree. Elk had the first shot, the ball striking about an inch from the mark. Merchant fired, remarking before doing so that he would just break in to the inner side of Elk's bullet hole. This he did and won the first dollar. Another dollar was up and Elk was beat again, and this was continued until Elk broke the lower edge of the paper by a shot, when the Indians raised a shout, thinking that his luck had changed. Merchant drew up, fired, and the paper fell to the ground, having made a center shot. Elk wanted no more, but grasped Merchant's hand, saying, "Big white chief, you; come to my 'wakeup' [tepee] and Elk give you young squaw." The offer, however, was declined, and soon the Indians left us and a quiet night was had.[59]

The Utes sometimes bought oxen from the emigrants and killed the animals for food. The actions of a Ute warrior on one such occasion demonstrate how impulsively and dangerously the Indians sometimes acted. An ox had been killed, and some men were skinning it when a Ute fired a musket ball that passed between Jefferson Hunt and his wife and lodged in the side of the dead animal. Vincent Hoover wrote about the incident:

> [It] done no other damage than to burn Powder [in] the face of Big Elks brother, an indian. he says his intention was to harm no one, but simply to scare the rest of the Indians who were around & in the road.[60]

The shot was intended as a practical joke, but it is almost certain that the Hunts and Big Elk's brother did not consider it to be a laughing matter.

On another occasion, William Lorton killed a beef outside the fort and offered it for sale at seven cents per pound. Lorton described the behavior of some

Utes on this occasion: "[A] dozen Indians standing around waiting for the guts and offal, which they fought for with as much eagerness as wolves for a carcass."[61]

When the gold seekers turned their backs on Utah Valley and trudged down the Southern Route, they took with them mixed opinions about how the Mormons had treated them. Some emigrants were dissatisfied with the treatment they received in Utah Valley, and a few were even afraid of the Mormons. For instance, the company in which J.D. Gruwell traveled had concluded that they would stay all winter in Utah Valley, but they changed their minds. Gruwell remembered, "Learning that the Mormons were about to attack us we broke camp and with a Mexican guide took the south route for Los Angeles."[62] His company did leave earlier than most of the others. Since there seems to be no further information concerning the validity of Gruwell's statement, we are left to draw our own conclusions.

Arthur Shearer, another California emigrant, was also unimpressed with the Mormons. He compared them with the Utes, and the Mormons came up lacking. Shearer wrote:

> Eutah Indians were numerous at our camps during our travel through the valley. We lost many cattle & believed the Mormons stole them & hid them in the can[y]ons of the mountains. Some of our cattle had been taken from the herds & found at work many miles distant. They call us Gentiles and regard themselves as entitled to superior privileges. [He must have heard the sermons of F.D. Richards and Erastus Snow on 16 September.] They are more troublesome beggars than the savages and to take a united voice of the emigrants for it, they are the worst thieves.[63]

Shearer may have been referring, in part, to the high prices charged by the Mormons.

Shearer was wrong about the united voice of the emigrants. Many of the forty-niners appeared to be happy with the treatment they received in Utah Valley. Referring to the Mormons, Harvey S. Brown wrote, "We found them very hospitable indeed. . . . I was never treated better than by those people."[64] Cephas Arms and Jacob Stover agreed with Brown. Arms wrote, "The Mormons treat us very kindly indeed."[65] Stover recalled, "The Mormons were very good to us."[66]

Likewise, the Mormons at Fort Utah must have had differing opinions about the forty-niners. Some of the residents of the fort mention the presence of the gold seekers, but, unfortunately, none appears to have left an opinion about how the emigrants treated the settlers. By late October, almost all the Argonauts had left Utah Valley for California. The Mormons soon realized that the short stay of the forty-niners proved to be both a blessing and a curse.

Endnotes

1. Sheldon Young, "Sheldon Young's Log," 28 July 1849, as quoted in LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., *Journals of Forty-Niners Salt Lake to Los Angles,* vol. 2 of The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820–1875, 15 vols. (Glendale, Cal.: Arthur H. Clark, 1954), 61–62 (hereafter cited as Young's Log).

2. Jacob Y. Stover, "The Jacob Y. Stover Narrative," as quoted in Hafen and Hafen, eds., *Journals of Forty-Niners,* 2:274 (hereafter cited as Stover Narrative).

3. History of the Church 1835–[ca. 1882], 8 October 1849, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

4. Stover Narrative, 2:274.

5. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830–1900* (1958; reprinted Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 68.

6. Flora Diana Bean Horne, comp., *Autobiography of George Washington Bean, a Utah Pioneer of 1847 and His Family Records* (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1945), 55–56.

7. Pearl Clark Yates, comp., "History of John Clark," 3, typescript in possession of author.

8. Ibid., 4.

9. Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 57.

10. Adonijah Strong Welch to a miscellaneous friend, 30 August 1849, as quoted in William H. Hermann, ed., "Three Gold Rush Letters of Adonijah Strong Welch," *Iowa Journal of History* 57 (January 1959): 64 (hereafter cited as Welch, Letter).

11. William B. Lorton, Diary, 26 September 1849, typescript, Dale L. Morgan Papers, Manuscripts Division, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. The original journal is in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

12. Joseph P. Hamelin, "The Hamelin Journal," 6 November 1849, as quoted in LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., *Supplement to the Journals of Forty-Niners Salt Lake to Los Angeles,* vol. 15 of The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820—1875, 15 vols. (Glendale, Cal.: Arthur H. Clark, 1961), 80 (hereafter cited as Hamelin, Journal).

13. Ibid., 7 November 1849.

14. William Farrer, "The William Farrer Diary," 14 October 1849, as quoted in Hafen and Hafen, *Journals of Forty-Niners,* 2:194.

15. Stover Narrative, 2:274.

16. Lorton, Diary, 26 September 1849. Lorton was mistaken in his belief that the cannon at Fort Utah came from California. The cannons that the returning members of the Mormon Battalion brought from California to the Great Basin were made of brass. The cannon on the bastion at Fort Utah was made of iron. Therefore, the cannon at the fort could not have been one of the cannons brought from California. The cannon at Fort Utah was likely the "Old Sow" that the Mormons had captured from

the Missouri militia near Adam-ondi-Ahman in 1838. D. Robert Carter, "The Old Sow and Her Pigs: Utah's Infant Artillery," *Beehive History* 28 (2002): 9.

17. Zina Diantha Young, Diary, 12–14 August 1849, LDS Church Archives.

18. Anna Clark Hale, *Memoirs of Anna Clark Hale* (n.p.: privately printed, 1965), 22.

19. Jane Park Jones, "The Early and Only School Days of Pioneer Jane Park Jones," *Camp Fort Wall Histories*, 3 vols., 1:159, Joyce Kling Harmon Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Perry Special Collections).

20. Yates, "History of John Clark," 4.

21. Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 49.

22. Robert T. Thomas, "The Autobiography of Robert T. Thomas" as dictated to his son William Thomas in 1888 and found in An Historical Sketch and Genealogy of the Thomas Families, 1888–1895," 54, LDS Church Archives.

23. Cephas Arms, Journal, 29 August 1849, as quoted in John Cumming, comp., *The Long Road to California: The Journals of Cephas Arms Supplemented With Letters by Traveling Companions on the Overland Trail in 1849* (Mount Pleasant, Mich.: John Cumming, 1985), 90 (hereafter cited as Arms, Journal).

24. Emma McDowell Jacobson, History of Early Provo Cemeteries Moved: Fort Wall, Temple Hill, Grandview, 5, Perry Special Collections.

25. Brigham Young to John S. Higbee, 18 April 1849, Brigham Young Office Files, LDS Church Archives.

26. Yates, "History of John Clark," 3; Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 47, 57; Stover Narrative, 2:274.

27. Unless otherwise noted, the story of Bean's accident and recovery comes from Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 57–61.

28. "Provo in 1849," *Provo Daily Enquirer*, 27 November 1894.

29. Stover Narrative, 2:275.

30. Arms, Journal, 1 October 1849.

31. Thomas Bullock, Notes, 14–15 September 1849, typescript, LDS Church Archives. All the information describing Brigham Young's journey to Fort Utah comes from Bullock's notes.

32. Ibid., 15 September 1849.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid., 16 September 1849.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. History of the Church, 3 September 1849.

40. Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 60–61. All the information for the summary of the Presidency's visit to James Bean's cabin comes from this source.

41. Ibid.

42. Bullock, Notes, 17 September 1849. Only the direct quotations from

Thomas Bullock's notes will be cited, but the summary of the day's activities comes from his notes unless otherwise cited.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. Stover Narrative, 2:275.

47. Arms, Journal, 26 September 1849.

48. Charles V. Stuart, "Charles V. Stuart's Trip," as quoted in Hafen and Hafen, *Supplement to the Journals of Forty-Niners,* 15:18–19 (hereafter cited as Stuart Trip).

49. Lorton, Diary, 26 September 1849.

50. Young, Diary, 18–19 September 1849.

51. Lorton, Diary, 26 September 1849; Dale L. Morgan and Eleanor Towles Harris, eds., "Gold and the Arduous Road The Journal of Vincent A. Hoover and Other Personal Narratives of the Pioneering of the Salt Lake-Los Angeles Road in 1849," 1971, typescript, 25 September 1849, Morgan Papers (hereafter cited as Hoover, Journal). The original journal is in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Cal.

52. Welch, Letter, 30 August 1849.

53. Hoover, Journal, 25 September 1849.

54. Arms, Journal, 26 September 1849.

55. Ibid.

56. Hamelin, Journal, 10 November 1849.

57. Ibid., 11 November 1849.

58. Lorton, Diary, 27 September 1849.

59. W.B. Taylor, "Pioneer Reminiscences," *Cloverdale Weekly Reveille,* 11 April 1896, typescript, copy in Morgan Papers.

60. Hoover, Journal, 25 September 1849.

61. Lorton, Diary, 26 September 1849.

62. J.D. Gruwell, "J.D. Gruwell's Account," as quoted in Hafen and Hafen, *Journals of Forty-Niners,* 2:54.

63. Arthur Shearer, "Mr. Shearer's Journal," 1 October 1849, as quoted in Hafen and Hafen, *Supplement to the Journals of Forty-Niners,* 15:31.

64. Harvey S. Brown, "Brown's Account," as quoted in Hafen and Hafen, *Supplement to the Journals of Forty-Niners,* 15:24.

65. Arms, Journal, 1 October 1849.

66. Stover Narrative, 2:274.

CHAPTER 8

Prelude to Battle

WHEN LARGE NUMBERS OF FORTY-NINERS BEGAN TO leave Utah Valley in late September and early October 1849, the Utes again found themselves only slightly outnumbered by the settlers. Because the forty-niners traded guns and ammunition to the Timpanogots Utes in exchange for horses, Robert T. Thomas estimated that the Utes were now better armed than the colonists.[1] These factors helped make the Utes feel more secure, and they began to show their dislike for the people of the fort in a more aggressive manner. In George Washington Bean's words, the Utes became "very bold and troublesome."[2]

The Utes had probably found it easier to tolerate the forty-niners than it was to put up with the settlers at the fort. The gold seekers proved to be good trading partners from whom the Indians could acquire desirable goods like guns, ammunition, and clothing in exchange for horses and animal skins. Also, the Utes likely felt less threatened by the forty-niners since they knew the emigrants would only be in the valley a short time before they moved on.

When the gold seekers left, the Mormon settlers, who were reluctant to trade guns, ammunition, and clothing to the Timpanogots Utes, stayed in the valley, and they planned to remain there for a long time. The Utes had controlled the valley for hundreds of years, and now the settlers challenged their supremacy. The Timpanogots saw the colonists shooting their game, catching their fish, squatting on one of their traditional camping grounds, using their berries, wood, and water, and turning their pasture lands into farmland. The Utes may have reasoned that they should get some of the settlers' crops in exchange for their grass, seeds, and berries. The colonists' cattle made a fair exchange for their fish and game.

In addition to these factors, the Utes remembered with distaste the Mormon posse who killed the renegade Indians at Battle Creek. They also resented the refusal of the colonists to help regain the horses stolen by Wanship's band and the resulting death of Little Chief, the Timpanogots' leader. More recently, the death of Old Bishop remained unavenged. These ill feelings festered in the minds of the Utes and began to surface in the form of increased belligerency.

This hostility began late in the summer of 1849, when the Utes stole the settlers' corn as it dried in the fields. In mid-September, even before the majority of the gold seekers left, Old Elk deliberately shot John Wheeler's mare and her colt. Then in late September or early October, the Utes shot at Jabez Nowlin and Robert T. Thomas while the two men worked in the fields. Early in the second week of October, the Indians also shot at James Ivie when he passed near their camp.[3]

James S. Brown learned of these Indian problems when he traveled over the Southern Route on his way to California. He moved south in the company of Mormon Apostle Charles C. Rich, who, during the recently adjourned general conference, had received the assignment to help supervise missionaries laboring on the Pacific Coast. Rich's company reached Fort Utah on 9 October, and Rich and Brown spent the night with Alexander Williams. From him they learned of the Indian troubles. Brown later recalled that there was "considerable excitement, as there were but a few settlers at that place and the Indians were quite numerous."[4]

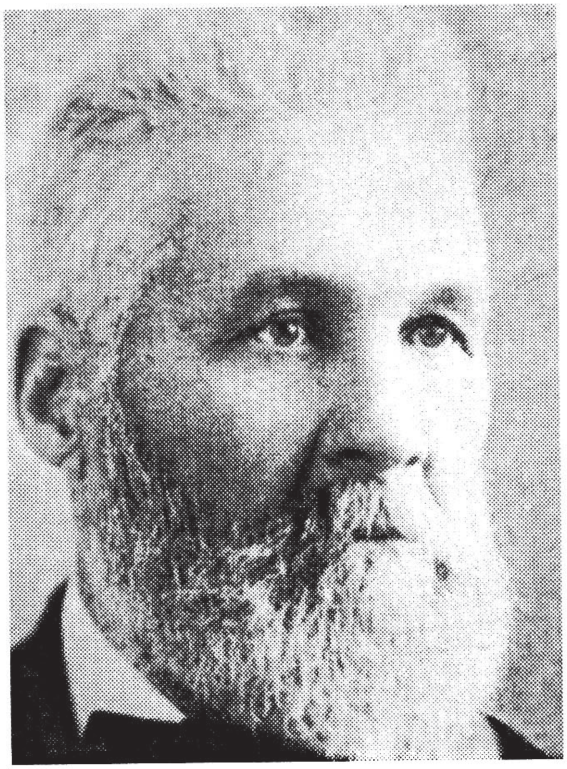

FIGURE 42

James S. Brown witnessed the unsettled Indian conditions at Fort Utah in 1849. *He was traveling toward California with Mormon Apostle Charles C. Rich and was at the fort when a group of warlike Utes advanced upon it. Brown said Rich's "cool conciliatory action" prevented a bloody confrontation between the Timpanogots and the colonists.* COURTESY LDS ARCHIVES.

That night and in the early morning, the Utes sang war songs and made themselves ready for battle. The settlers expected to be attacked. James S. Brown described the precautions taken by the settlers. "Guards were posted around the camp, and men put on picket duty, so that any enemy might be discovered readily."[5]

According to Isaac Higbee, very early on the morning of 10 October some settlers told two Utes that the colonists were mad at them for shooting at the people of the fort and stealing their corn.[6] The Utes took this news back to their camp. Soon a considerable number of Ute warriors left the Indian encampment just before sunrise and moved toward the fort as if to attack it. The colonists observed this movement, and Fort Utah's militia quickly prepared for action by forming a line across the road in an effort to stop the Utes before they reached the fort, where the women and children anxiously waited. "The savages marched up as if to give us open battle,"[7] wrote James Brown.

The threatening assemblage of Ute warriors stopped some distance from the colonists' battle line. From that point, three weaponless Utes advanced, two of them naked and the third carrying a stick to which a number of feathers were attached. "It was as much as we could do to keep some of our boys from shooting them,"[8] wrote Isaac Higbee. However, the leaders kept the men under control, and the Utes began to speak. According to contemporary reports, the Indians said that they had heard the pioneers were mad and came to make peace with them. The Utes claimed that they did not wish to fight.[9]

At this point, Apostle Rich stepped forward to negotiate a solution. Rich simply noted in his journal that he "gave the Indians Some Council."[10] However, James S. Brown was convinced that Rich's imperturbable manner prevented a bloody confrontation. Brown penned:

> I always have believed that if it had not been for the presence of Apostle C. C. Rich, and his cool conciliatory action, there would have been bloodshed, for there were some very hot-headed white men, who would have preferred war to peace. Through Brother Rich's influence, the cause of the trouble was looked into, a conciliation effected, and war averted.[11]

Isaac Higbee detailed the confrontation between the Utes and Mormon settlers and the resulting events to Brigham Young in a 15 October letter in which Higbee asked for counsel. Higbee reported the number of Indians in the area to be a little smaller than the number of settlers, an assertion that underestimates the number of Utes, if James Brown's statement is to be believed. Higbee also told Young that the Utes remained "saucy." According to Higbee, the Utes threatened to kill the settlers and take their women, claiming the settlers were afraid to fight.[12]

To compound the problem, Dimick B. Huntington, the fort's main interpreter, had gone to meet his brother who was crossing the plains on the way to the Great Basin. This made negotiating with the Timpanogots more difficult. Also, Chief Waccara's band of Utes had recently appeared at the fort without their leader. They expected Waccara to arrive in two days. The settlers were uncertain about whether the volatile chief would support his fellow Utes or side with the inhabitants of the fort. The only optimistic news Higbee divulged to Young was that the Indians who did come into the fort appeared to be very friendly.[13]

Young's return letter is dated 18 October. His advice, in part, was:

> Take care of your corn brethren, and grain of all kinds, and pursue the cou[r]se proposed in our former Letters I council to you, & Stockade your fort, to attend to your own affairs and let the indiens take care of theirs, Let your women & children stay in the fort, and the Indians stay out, but, while you mix with them promiscuously, you must continue to receive such treetment from them which they please to give. This is what we have told you continually, and you will find it true.
>
> Let any man or company of men be familiar with indians & they will be more familiar and the more fami[li]ar, you will find the less influence you will have with them. If you would have dom[in]ion over them, for their good which is the duty of the Elders, you must not treet them as your equals, You cannot exalt them by this process. If they are your equals, you cannot raise them up to you.[14]

Young criticized the colonists for their past actions. He said that they let their children mix too freely with the Ute children and let the Utes come into their homes too indiscriminately. He complained that some of the male colonists spent too much time chatting and smoking with the Utes instead of teaching them to work. He said this behavior "encouraged them in Idleness and ignorance, the effects of which you begin to feel."[15]

Brigham Young was concerned that in the struggle between the two ways of life, the Utes seemed to be winning some minor battles. The Indians appear to have been converting some settlers to the Ute way of life more effectively than the colonists were teaching the Utes the white man's way of living. The Mormon president wanted the colonists to change this situation. Young hoped that "a steady, & upright . . . course may yet restore, or gain the confidence of the indiens, and you [will] be safe."[16]

It is tempting to speculate about the cause of the 10 October confrontation between the Utes and the colonists. This is the only occasion mentioned in any known primary documents where the Utes menacingly moved on Fort Utah en masse. Would the Timpanogots be excited enough to stage their perilous show of force against the people of Fort Utah and risk a major confrontation with them simply because the Utes had been told that the colonists were mad at them for shooting at them and stealing their corn? Why were the Indians mad enough to shoot at the colonists?

The probable answer to these questions can be found in Old Bishop's death two months earlier at the hands of Fort Utah residents Richard Ivie, Jerome

Zabriskie, and John R. Stoddard. The hatred kindled, in part, by Old Bishop's murder and the brutal evisceration of his body must have enraged the Utes enough that after the forty-niners had left Utah Valley and the normal balance of power had been restored, the Indians felt secure enough vent their hatred for the colonists by shooting at them. Finally, the frenzied Timpanogots came to the fort and demanded that the settlers turn over to them the men who were responsible for Old Bishop's death so they could receive justice at the hands of the Utes. The settlers refused the Indian plea. The Utes then asked for reparations in the form of blankets and goods. Again, the colonists refused their request. The residents of Fort Utah decided "to stand in with the accused; not make any settlement for it [the murder], and keep the facts as quiet as possible."[17] It seems that two months earlier, in an effort to protect his fellow colonists and avoid the scathing criticism and possible punishment that would surely have come from the Mormon president, Isaac Higbee had withheld from Brigham Young the incriminating facts of Old Bishop's death. Higbee continued to keep that secret. Charles C. Rich helped the settlers at Fort Utah negotiate a temporary truce with the Utes, but it proved to be a very tenuous one.

Meanwhile, under these trying circumstances, life at the fort continued. The first babies were born, and the first marriage in the settlement was performed in October. Poor or non-existent records make it difficult to ascertain the identity of the first baby born in the fort. Edward Holden, son of Elijah E. and Katherine Holden, likely holds that honor. He was born 3 October 1849. Mary Haws York later stated that her brother, Gilberth Oliver Haws, son of Gilberth and Hannah Haws, was the second child born in the fort. A midwife the settlers called Mother Angell came from Salt Lake City to help deliver young Oliver, who was born 8 October 1849. Mother Angell had earlier helped deliver Edward Holden.[18] It appears that Joseph Clark and Sarah Topham who married on 18 October 1849, became the first couple to wed in the fort.[19]

Church leaders in Salt Lake City continued laying plans for the expansion of the young settlement in Utah Valley. On 17 September, Brigham Young had picked a townsite for the infant settlement. The next month at the LDS Church's general conference, it was motioned, seconded, and unanimously voted that this previously selected townsite should be surveyed and laid out.[20] Plans for a city proceeded despite the confrontation with the Utes.

During the second week of October, a new school opened at Fort Utah.[21] John Hudson became the fort's second schoolteacher. Hudson, who had recently emigrated from England to America, caught gold fever in 1849 and started for California. By the time the company he traveled with reached the Great Basin, Hudson was too ill to go any farther. He stayed in Salt Lake City to recover, and he eventually became a Mormon. As he began to recuperate, Hudson was forced o find a job to support himself during the winter. He did not feel well enough to do manual labor, so when he got the opportunity to work as a teacher and a clerk in the new colony in Utah Valley, he took the jobs and traveled to Fort Utah.

Hudson lived alone in the sixteen-square-foot, dirt-floored cabin where he also held his school. He constructed his only piece of furniture, a primitive bed, which sat in one corner of the cabin. He slept in the bed at night and used it in the daytime as an elevated seat from which to watch his students. Hudson used the cabin's crude fireplace to cook his own meals.

On school days, "about 30 boys & girls, none of whom studied anything more scientific than arithmetic," crammed the small cabin. Hudson's teaching duties ended weekdays at 4:00 P.M.; he received Saturdays off. Conflict with the Utes and a lack of good roads prevented Hudson from extensively exploring the local terrain. The schoolmaster spent his free time drawing, reading, and writing. Fortunately, examples of his drawing and writing have survived. Hudson's sketch depicting the pioneer ford on Provo River provides us with the only known early drawing of this important area.

The long letters Hudson wrote to his family in England paint an interesting picture of pioneer attitudes toward education and shed light on the way of life

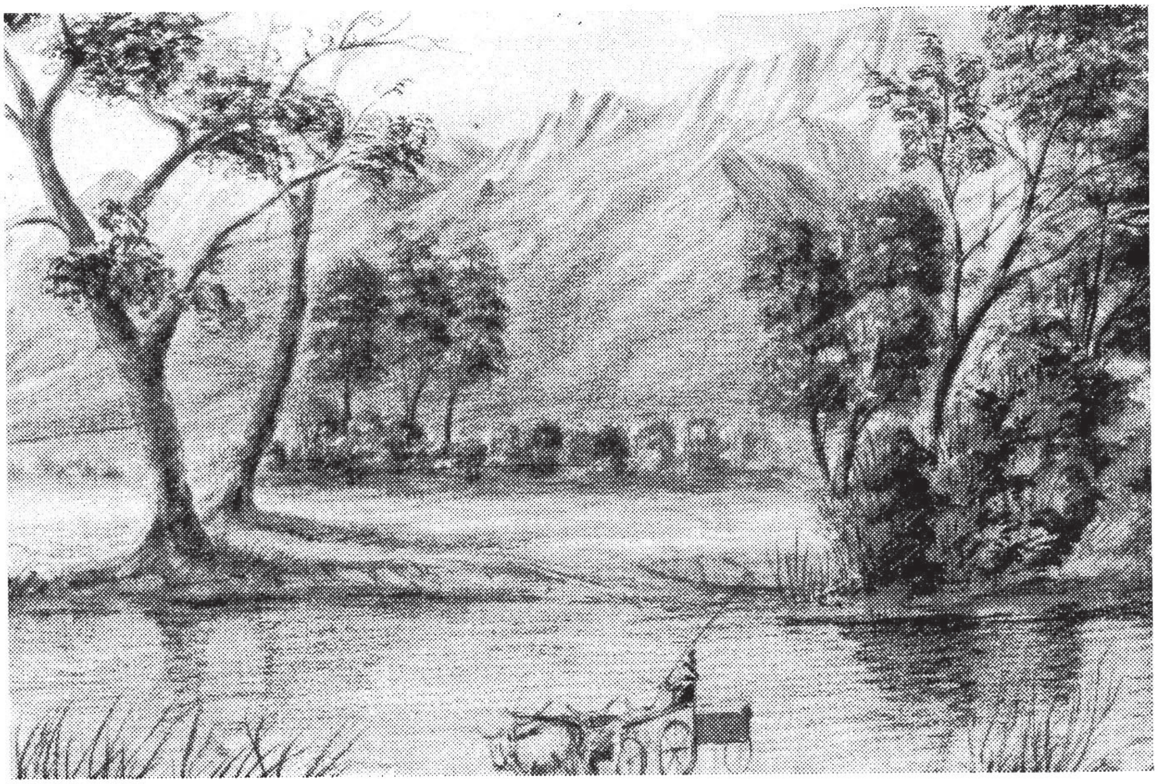

FIGURE 43

The ford on Provo River as it appeared in 1849. *John Hudson, a forty-niner who stayed in the Great Basin, sketched the ford while he was serving as Fort Utah's school teacher and clerk. Notice the river's low, gently elevated banks. In the background, Mount Baldy juts out on the face of Timpanogos. This ford was located near where the railroad tracks currently cross Provo River.* COURTESY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, J. WILLARD MARRIOTT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF UTAH.

of those who lived in the small enclosed community. About pioneer attitudes toward education and the behavior of his students he wrote:

> It is true that I had more to contend with than I anticipated, the children, from rude habits acquired on the road to the valley, & the few educational privileges they have enjoyed, were at first a little unmanagable, the mild measures I at first adopted, were forced to be changed for those a little more peremptory, & then with the cooperation of their Parents my rule was established & these difficulties ceased.[22]

Despite his initial problems with the students, Hudson maintained a positive attitude toward his charges. In a letter to his family, he described his pupils and contrasted them to the Utes.

> The children it is true were not nicely dressed for no one cares for appearances in the woods . . . but if not smart[ly dressed] they were clean & their fair hair light complexions & intelligent countenances appeared to me to compose a picture which I sighed in vain to transmit to canvas, especially when contrasted with the group of dirty degraded looking Indians who usually filled the doorway.[23]

Hudson also worked as Fort Utah's clerk. He described the responsibilities of his job in this fashion:

> In addition to the position of Pedagogue I figured in the capacity of Clerk to the settlement, recording such events as were deemed worthy of a place in their archives; these chiefly consisted of the details of Indian aggression, advice from our President at the City of the Gr[ea]t S[a]lt Lake & other matters of importance to this little community.[24]

It is truly unfortunate that Hudson's clerical records have been lost. Notes taken by a man of Hudson's literary ability would certainly add immeasurably to our knowledge of activities at the new settlement during the winter of 1849–50.

The pen picture of Fort Utah that Hudson included in a letter to his parents does survive. His description of the fort adds a new dimension to our knowledge of the pioneer enclosure. Like others, he mentions the attached cabins forming a square with the bastion in the middle. Then he goes on to say:

> For further defence a picketing made a few ft on the outside of the houses extends all round with the exception of the gate which is left open during the day & closed at night. . . . [This] constitutes a fort at which though engineers might smile yet is a sufficient & necessary protection to any infant settlement.[25]

Work on the palisade that Hudson mentioned began in earnest after Isaac Higbee received Brigham Young's letter of 18 October in which the Mormon president counseled the colonists to build a stockade around their settlement. Since the fall harvest was almost completed and the settlers had more free time at their disposal, they worked on the stockade more expeditiously than they had labored on the bastion earlier in the year. Spurred on by heightened fears of increasing Indian troubles after the forty-niners began to leave, the settlers planted box elder and cottonwood logs on end to construct the fourteen-foot-high stockade around the small community.[26]

The palisade completed phase three of Fort Utah's development and enlarged the amount of area enclosed. This may partially explain why people remembered a fort of different characteristics and dimensions. The fort had been a work in progress, but now it had reached its finished form.

When Hudson's teaching term expired, the colonists at Fort Utah urged him to continue for the rest of the winter, but he was not satisfied with his meager salary and looked for another position. In mid-February 1850, he left for Salt Lake City. Hudson eventually gained employment as an artist with Captain Howard Stansbury, who the United States government had sent to the Great Basin to survey the Great Salt Lake, Jordan River, and Utah Lake. While Hudson worked for Stansbury, he made a number of very nice sketches of the Great Salt Lake and other geographical features. When Hudson's work with Stansbury was completed, he moved to Sanpete County to try his hand at farming. However, his illness recurred, and he died of "congestive fits" on 14 December 1850.[27]

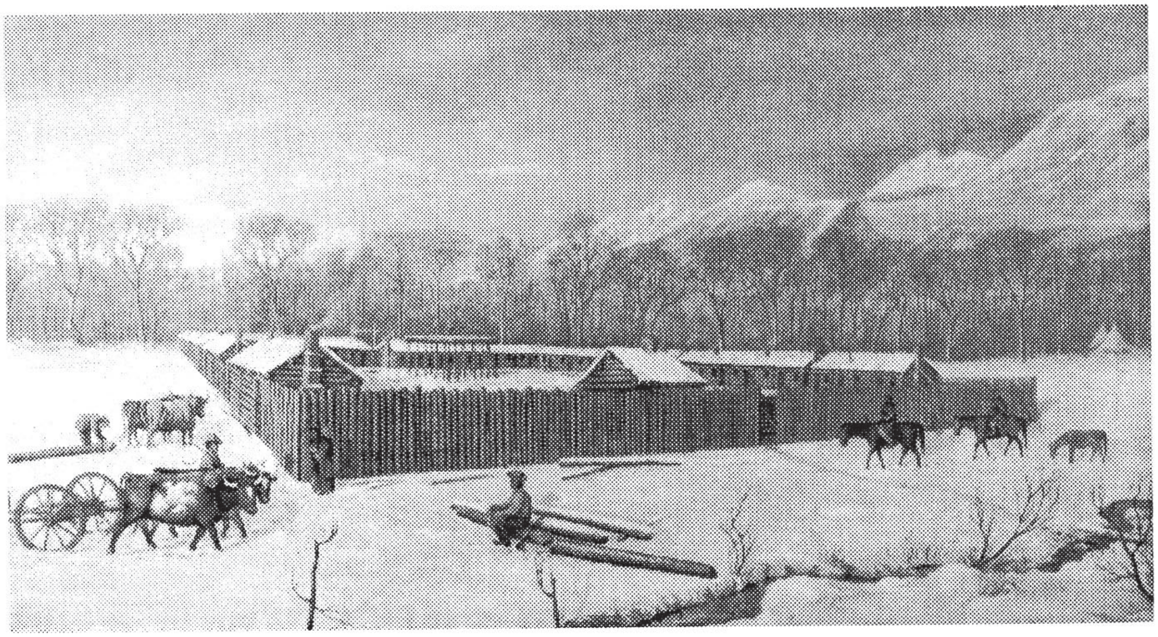

FIGURE 44

Samuel H. Jepperson's Fort Utah. *This oil painting shows the fort after the completion of the palisade in early January 1850. Jepperson completed his work many years after Fort Utah had been torn down. He likely referred to the drawings in Stansbury's Report and received information from some of the fort's early inhabitants.* COURTESY PROVO CITY.

During November 1849, visits from two groups of travelers and Stansbury's surveyors made the precarious existence of the colonists at Fort Utah a little more tolerable. Captain Stansbury assigned Lieutenant John W. Gunnison to map the Jordan River and Utah Lake. On 28 October, Gunnison's men made their main camp on American Fork Creek. From this base camp they finished the survey of the Jordan River and began working on Utah Lake. Gunnison mapped the east shore of Utah Lake, and to speed the survey, Stansbury hired Albert Carrington, a Mormon, to supervise another group assigned to map the west shore of the lake.

When he was working his way along Utah Lake's eastern shore, Gunnison noted the condition of its water. He sounded the depth of the lake at the edge of the rushes about 200 feet from shore near the mouth of American Fork Creek. Gunnison left proof that Utah Lake was not perfectly clear when he wrote, "The water has a milky appearance & is easily disturbed by the lightest breeze—The aluminous washings from the mountains surrounding the Lake are evidently fast filling up this basin."[28]

On 8 November, Lieutenant Gunnison moved his main camp to a site on the north side of Provo River about three-fourths of a mile from Fort Utah. He stayed in this camp about a week. Undoubtedly, the surveyors and the people of the fort interacted with each other. For example, a resident of the fort, eighteen-year-old Joseph Higbee, son of Isaac Higbee, hired on to help the surveyors.

Although Gunnison says very little about the colonists in his journal, he does mention making acquaintance with the Utes. Like the forty-niners, he traded with the Indians and fed them. The day after establishing his camp near the fort he wrote in his field journal:

> The camp was overun with Indians called "Utes" in this Valley & [we] fed them pretty well which will doubtless bring them back in increased numbers but shall have orders to supply them sparingly—We bought some bear skins for blankets; one a very large grizzly skin I gave a three point [a very good Hudson Bay Company blanket] worth at the city [Salt Lake City] $8 or $9—which however cost less at Fort Kearney.[29]

The Utes did come back the next day, and although they likely received less food, they made a real "steal" on a few trade goods. Gunnison lamented, "Indians hang about camp & steal one Knife, 1 spoon & 1 Blanket."[30] The lieutenant also discovered seven cattle missing that day. Not finding the stock in the area near his camp or the fort, Gunnison suspected they had been taken by someone other than Indians. He was correct.

During the period of Gunnison's short bivouac near the fort, a company of about 220 Mormon men, women, and children passed by Fort Utah on their way to establish a colony in Sanpete Valley. Suspecting that some of his stock accompanied the colonists to their new home, Gunnison sent Lieutenant George Howland in pursuit. Howland caught the emigrants on the Spanish Fork River and found three of the missing animals. The cattle may have followed the Mormon train on their own, or they may have been coaxed. Gunnison formed his opinion about how they came to be with the settlement company. He wrote of the incident:

> Those having them [the cattle] made excuse that they did not know but what they belonged to Br. Shoemaker, who had lately joined them—As the cow was belled & had been reclaimed once before we can hardly suppose she was not known to be one of ours.
>
> Whether the others are not in some of their herds we cannot tell—[31]

Three of the four missing animals did not travel with the Mormon colonists. Gunnison's men located them the next day in Utah Valley. They had apparently just wandered away from his camp.

After surveying for a number of days, Albert Carrington's camp on the west side of Utah Lake needed more supplies. He crossed the lake in a boat on 12 November and rowed up Provo River to Gunnison's camp near the fort in order to pick up more provisions. Carrington recorded in his field journal what he saw as he navigated the river. This account provides the earliest known and most detailed description of the area surrounding the mouth of Provo River:

> Entered the mouth of Provost, at mouth about 100 or 110 ft wide & about 5 to 8 ft deep on average, low reedy banks for ¼ mile up with some willows, then some small Box Elder set in, continued up about 1 mile to a fish trap near where the large C[otton] W[ood] trees terminate, & about 200 yds below our main camp.[32]

Carrington doesn't describe the fish trap, but it was likely a kind of weir with a basket trap to catch the fish as they jumped over the obstruction. This may be the fishing site Parley P. Pratt described in July 1849. It is impossible to ascertain if the trap was constructed by the colonists or the Utes, but it may have been used by both. From the information Albert Carrington gives, the trap appears to have been between a mile and a mile and a quarter upstream from the lake. That would place the trap above Box Elder Island and near Isaac and John S. Higbee's property which was situated along the river adjacent to Fort Field.[33] The Higbees were fishermen, so they may have constructed or at least used the fishing site.

Gunnison moved his main camp south to the Spanish Fork River on 14 November. Six days later, he lost eight more head of cattle. About this incident he wrote, "Eight head of cattle lost - Indians are probably interfering with them, as we hear they have killed two for emigrants & one of ours came in with a piece of an arrow sticking in him."[34] On 21 November his men found three of the lost animals, but five were still missing. By actions of this type, the Utes did not create an everlasting friendship with the government surveyors.

Gunnison and his men stayed in Utah Valley until the end of November. Snow finally halted their work, and they packed up their gear. The company camped at Fort Utah on 1 December before journeying back toward Salt Lake City.

Another group of travelers paused briefly at Fort Utah about the time Gunnison's surveyors were getting ready to leave Utah Valley. Church leaders in Salt Lake City assigned Apostle Parley P. Pratt to lead an expedition southward past the rim of the Great Basin in search of natural resources and sites for new colonies along the Southern Route to California. The exploring party, which included twelve wagons and one carriage, left their rendezvous point at Cottonwood on 24 November. The weather was cold and snowy, but within several days the majority of the company made camp near a cedar grove located a few miles north of Fort Utah. Apostle Pratt, W.W. Phelps, and David Fullmer pushed on to the settlement, where they preached that night.[35] The main party reached Fort Utah just after 11:00 A.M. on 27 November. There they obtained one yoke of cattle, some vegetables, milk, and baking supplies before promptly moving on to Hobble Creek.[36]

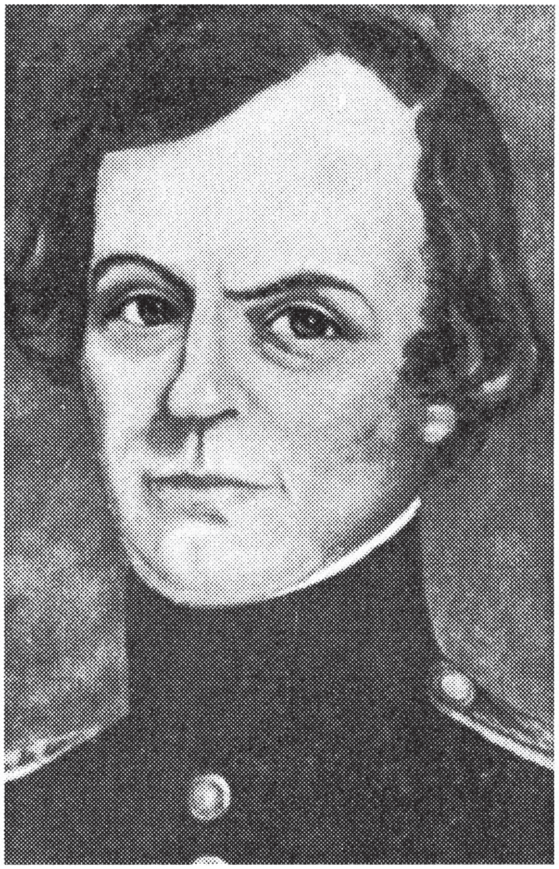

FIGURE 45

Lieutenant John W. Gunnison, a member of the U.S. Army's topographical engineers, supervised the surveying and mapping of the Jordan River and Utah Lake in 1849–50. *The notes and journals of Gunnison and his men give us descriptions of the mouth of the Provo River and Utah Lake. Some of Gunnison's men camped near Fort Utah during the fall of 1849.* COURTESY UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Colonel John Scott came to the fort on the heels of Parley P. Pratt and other advance members of the exploring company. Scott came searching for Curtis Purbelo, the one-eyed trader who came to the Great Basin in the 1830s. Purbelo had recently joined with some of his associates and stolen a number of horses from Salt Lake Valley. The thieves fled south, and Scott, who was acting as a marshal, was on their trail.

Scott took nine men from Fort Utah, and together they traveled south with Pratt's company. On Peteetneet Creek, near the present site of Payson, Pratt loaned Scott nine of his men for two days. During the night of 28 November, the enlarged posse continued southward. Eight of the nine men from Fort Utah left Scott's posse in Juab Valley and returned home, but the remainder of the party stayed on Purbelo's trail. They found the ashes of the horse thief's camp fires in three places. At Sevier Lake, Scott's men and their horses were too tired to continue. They decided Purbelo was too far ahead for them to overtake and started their return trip. Scott reached Salt Lake City on 3 December and reported his lack of success to the Mormon leaders.[37]

Although November and December were not pleasant months for the colonists at Fort Utah, some happy affairs did occur. Miles and Sarah Weaver became the parents of their first child, Miles John Weaver, on 11 November 1849. The next month, two twenty-year-olds, James Ivie, Jr. and Elizabeth Porter, married on 10 December.[38] Toward the end of December, Fort Utah's first twins joined the community. William and John Park became the sons of John and Louisa Park on 30 December. The Utes, it was said, considered the pair to be quite a curiosity.[39]

Other occurrences during December foreshadowed a bleaker future. Partially in response to increasing prospects of Indian problems, the General Assembly of the provisional State of Deseret passed the Militia Ordinance on 8 December 1849.[40] From that time on, Fort Utah's militia operated under legal statutory authority.

Measles spread through Fort Utah during the winter of 1849–1850. The disease spread to Ute camps, and many Indians died. The epidemic caused another point of friction between the settlers and the Utes. George W. Bean described the situation late in 1849, "After the gold-seekers had passed on to California, the Indians became very bold and troublesome, and were sometimes aggravated by our people, so that near Christmas time, open War seemed inevitable."[41]

The situation became so intolerable to the settlers that on 7 January 1850 two of the community's leading men, Alexander Williams and J.T. Willis, aided by the settlement's clerk, John Hudson, found it necessary to send a letter to Brigham Young and Fort Utah's president, Isaac Higbee, who was attending the legislature in Salt Lake City. The letter informed the two leaders of worsening Indian relations at Fort Utah and made a plea for advice.

In their letter, Williams and Willis claimed that the people of Fort Utah were strictly following the counsel Brigham Young gave them in his 18 October letter. They had finished their stockade with the exception of a few gaps which were to be filled the day the letter was written. The settlers took every precaution to keep their animals safe. Armed men herded the animals during the day and guarded them at night. Still the Utes lurked in the high grass and tried to kill the stock by shooting arrows into them. Farmers made an effort to protect their crops from the stock, but cattle had earlier injured the wheat growing in the fields near the fort. The settlers tried to move the animals away from the farmland to help protect their next year's food supply. On Saturday, 5 January, men turned out and started building a corral about a mile east of the fort, hoping to guard the cattle in this location where there was plenty of feed available. A snowstorm prevented the workmen from finishing the enclosure.

Williams and Willis reported that the Utes had stolen four oxen Saturday evening. On Sunday morning, a delegation of colonists visited the Indian camp and found that the Utes had already butchered the stolen oxen. The Utes admitted to stealing and killing the cattle and said that they had also taken two mares. They threatened further depredations. When the pioneers demanded restitution, the Utes refused to pay, raised a war whoop, and prepared for an encounter. Since the visiting delegation was outnumbered, the colonists followed a safe course of action and returned to the fort.[42]

After Hudson finished writing the letter, Peter W. Conover and Miles Weaver mounted horses and rode toward Salt Lake City to deliver it. They left with instructions to fill the leaders in on all the details. Conover later claimed that he and Weaver completed the trip in the amazing time of four hours.[43] If his statement is accurate, the men must have taken extra horses with them in addition to changing their mounts several times in the Salt Lake Valley settlements. Traveling conditions must have been ideal.

What details Conover was authorized to divulge will probably never be known, but apparently he, Willis, or Isaac Higbee, who was visiting church leaders in Salt Lake City, vented about a problem that may have been considered too condemning to commit to written notification. At any rate, on 8 January the legislature learned of the death of Old Bishop. Hosea Stout recorded in his diary that day:

> Met with the Legislature Heard a letter from the Utah Valley. The Indians a[re] again committing depredations on the whites by stealing cattle Horses &c One Indian has been killed by the whites for attempting to shoot a man for attempting to take a shirt from him which the Indian had stolen. This was reported to the Legislature.[44]

This is the earliest known mention of Old Bishop's death in a primary document.[45]

In a letter dated 8 January, Brigham Young promptly answered the letter from Utah Valley. He reemphasized some counsel he gave in his 18 October letter. Young told the colonists to secure the fort and not let any Indians inside or "you will be harrassed, and have difficulty with them more or less all the time."[46]

As for the cattle, Young instructed the settlers to corral them and guard them at night where the Indians could not get them. If the colonists watched their cattle and horses more closely and kept the Utes from getting them, it would "prevent any quarrel with the Indians."[47] If the settlers at Fort Utah had more cattle than they could take care of, Young suggested that they should send the surplus animals to Salt Lake City, where they could be sold "and the proceeds thereof be put in the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, for it is far better to let your surplus cattle benefit the poor who are craving to come here . . . than to have your cattle destroyed by the Indians."[48]

President Young also touched on an area he had not previously covered. It seems the Mormon leader was beginning to think of Fort Utah as a colony that contained a number of troublemakers, and he felt these rebels were endangering the others. Young plead with the leaders and the majority of the people not to let the disobedient colonists jeopardize the lives of innocent men, women, and children. He may have been referring here directly to the actions of Ivie, Zabriskie, and Stoddard when they killed Old Bishop.

The Mormon leader gave his permission for those who wished to leave Fort Utah to come back to Salt Lake City where there were "men who can bear with, or else conquer their rebellious conduct."[49] If the insubordinates wished to go to California or anywhere else, they were at liberty to do so. Young had no objections.

As for the killing of Indians, President Young felt that was not necessary if the colonists acted wisely. Young ended his letter with a parable that likely refers directly to the murder of Old Bishop. It would seem that the incidents he refers to in this story parallel the actions of Ivie, Zabriskie, and Stoddard too closely to be coincidental. He wrote:

> We would take this opportunity to refer your minds to another view of one part of the subject under consideration. Suppose an Indian steals a Shirt, an ox, a Horse or any thing else, there appears to be a feeling in the minds of a few individuals to kill them for it on the spot. Suppose a white man commits precisely the same crime, or worse, do those individuals or any person feel like killing them for it. We leave you to answer this. Now look at the moral, the Indians are wild, uneducated, naked, destitute, and they mostly steal from necessity and think it no harm, but there is no white man in this region of country who either steals from necessity or ignorance, yet they do steal, and if it is right to kill an Indian for stealing, surely in the same principal, it must be an honor to the man who will kill

> a white thief. Now remember we do not give this as councel [sic] but as a moral for your serious reflections and considerations.[50]

Conover and Weaver likely delivered the return letter bearing President Young's advice to the leaders of Fort Utah. There is little evidence to suggest how the colonists implemented Young's advice. James Bean does say the colonists tried to enforce their law forbidding Indians to enter the fort. This only led to more trouble with the Utes. Sometime in January 1850, Old Elk, who was suffering from measles, came into the fort and went to Celia Hunt's cabin, where he hoped to get medicine. "Alexander Williams saw him, took him by the nape of the neck, and kicked him out of the Fort. That same evening the Indians stole 3 Cows out of Mrs. Hunt's yard and continued stealing."[51]

During these troubled times, the people of Fort Utah provided aid to others. Parley P. Pratt and his exploring company had passed through the fort in November on their way to explore the valleys along the Southern Route to California. In January, they traveled back toward Salt Lake City. They found themselves snowbound on 20 January in the general vicinity of present-day Fillmore. The men inventoried their supplies and found that they had only enough food to last half the company until spring. The men held a meeting and decided that about half of the group, mostly young men without families, would winter there. They kept the wagons and most of the supplies with them. The other half, led by Parley P. Pratt, took the strongest horses and mules and started for Fort Utah roughly 100 miles to the north. Pratt's men struggled along through deep snow, and when they reached Juab Valley, the depth of the snow increased. Their food supply was nearly exhausted.

Pratt and Chauncey West, a Fort Utah settler, took the two best mules and toiled on ahead toward Fort Utah, from which a rescue party could be launched. The rest of the company traveled toward the settlement at a slower pace. Pratt and West spent a frigid night on Summit Creek (Santaquin) 27 January. They arose before daylight and Pratt, recounting that day, later wrote, "Bit a few mouthfuls off the last black frozen biscuit remaining. Saddled up our animals and, after another laborious day, living on a piece of biscuit not so large as our fist, we entered Provo at dark."[52]

The leaders at Fort Utah raised a rescue party led by Peter Conover. They started back the same night with food for the remainder of Pratt's men. About eight miles south of the fort, they spied through the gloom a shivering horse standing in the snow. The rescuers moved toward it and found Stephen Taylor, one of Pratt's men, lying in the snow next to the horse. Taylor appeared to be nearly frozen to death. The unfortunate man had wandered off ahead of the rest of Pratt's men and dropped, exhausted, when he reached a point near Hobble

Creek. The rescue party arrived in time to save Taylor's life, but his feet were so badly frozen that he remained crippled for the rest of his life.[53]

As the relief party moved southward, the remainder of Pratt's men crept slowly northward. The returning explorers were faint and weary, and that morning they ate the last of their food. Isaac C. Haight, one of the members of the forlorn company, wrote of those frigid hours:

> We had only flour gruel for breakfast and not half enough of that. Traveled about eight miles to Peteetneet (now Payson) and to our great joy Br. Peter Conover . . . met us with provisions for which we felt to thank them and our God. We arrived on Spanish Fork River and camped.[54]

The next day, 30 January, the men and their rescuers traveled the remaining twelve miles to Fort Utah where they were "very hospitably received by the brethren and our hearts burned with gratitude to God for delivering us from starvation and death."[55] Without the timely succor provided by the people of the fort, it is very probable that some members of Pratt's company would have died before they reached civilization.

As Pratt and his men struggled toward Fort Utah, the General Assembly of the provisional State of Deseret in Salt Lake City passed important legislation concerning the Utah Valley settlement. That law-making body created "Utah County" on 28 January and designated the future "Town of Provo" county seat. The Assembly also provided for the creation of a Utah County court system and a "State road" eight rods wide running from Ogden to Provo.[56] These legislative actions show how deeply committed Mormon leaders were to maintaining a permanent colony in Utah Valley.

Parley P. Pratt did not spend much time resting at Fort Utah. By 31 January he had already arrived back in Salt Lake City. That same day the high council met at Pratt's home to hear him report on his trip to the southern country. Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, George A. Smith, Ezra Taft Benson, Daniel H. Wells, Thomas Bullock, Isaac Higbee, and a number of others attended.

After Pratt's report of his explorations and exciting adventures, Isaac Higbee, who had traveled to Salt Lake City to make a personal plea for aid, made known to the council the magnitude of the Indian difficulties in Utah Valley. He told how the cattle were taken to pasture in the morning, herded all day by the men, and brought back to the fort each night. In spite of this, the Utes managed to kill the settlers' horses and cattle. The colonists had recently found an ox with four arrows in it and another with a "tomahawk" embedded in its body. The Utes had killed fifty or sixty cattle and had even shot at the colonists. Higbee said the Indians wanted to fight, reporting, "they say they mean to hunt our cattle. & go &

get the other Indians to kill us."[57]

Pratt spoke next. He said he could only see three ways to handle the problem. The fort could be abandoned, and the result would be that the Indians would ransack all the new colonies placed in the south. The settlers could be defended. Or the settlers could be left to their own destruction.

Isaac Higbee expressed his opinion that it would take a company of men to defend the cattle. The Utes had twenty-five men close by and another fifty or seventy-five more on the other side of the lake. When Higbee spoke of the other side of the lake, he was almost certainly referring to the area south of Provo Bay near the Spanish Fork River and Peteetneet Creek (Payson).

Pratt, who had just traveled through Fort Utah, spoke up again. He said that when he recently saw the situation, he "felt it best to kill the Indians,"[58] but then he realized it would be better to wait for instructions. Isaac Higbee replied, "Every man [and] boy held up their hand to kill them off - we have 60 men to bear arms - they say we [are] afraid to kill them."[59]

FIGURE 46

Willard Richards, one of President Brigham Young's counselors. *In a meeting of Salt Lake City's high council held 31 January 1850, Richards stated that the troublesome Utes in Utah Valley should be exterminated. Brigham Young agreed and a body of militiamen from Salt Lake City organized to help the men of Fort Utah obliterate the Timpanogots and other Indians in Utah Valley.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

Pratt sided with Higbee and reiterated a point he had made earlier. He felt that if Fort Utah were abandoned, it would be impossible to establish any new colonies in the south.

Then, according to the minutes of the meeting, Willard Richards put into words the apparent feelings of everyone in the room when he said, "My voice is for War [and] exterminate them."[60]

Brigham Young sat listening to the opinions of the others. When he finally spoke, he voiced his agreement with Richards, "I say go [and] kill them."[61] All men in attendance raised their hands in agreement.

Isaac Higbee got his way. Now he felt bold enough to resubmit a request he had made earlier, "We thought we should want help to do it."[62] He soon received the answer to his request. The meeting ended as follows:

> B[righam]. Y[oung]. Tell D[imick]. Huntington to go [and] kill them—also Barney Ward.[63] let the Women [and] children live if they will behave themselves—
>
> P[arley]. P. P[ratt]. I wo[ul]d. take the women & chil[dren] & clothe them & dictate them & make them do what we want & dont let them prowl about—
>
> B[righam]. Y[oung]. we shall have no peace until the men [are] killed off. —never treat an Indian as your equal there was a [company] of 50 men—get them [and] take them up with you—they [the Indians] [have] strengthened up the past year [and] they gather men from other tribes to come [and] steal our cattle [and] horses—[64]

The decision reached by the council in this meeting set in motion a chain of events that culminated in the largest Indian battle fought within the present boundaries of the Utah. Implementation of Brigham Young's orders came almost immediately.

Endnotes

1. Robert T. Thomas, "The Autobiography of Robert T. Thomas as Dictated to His Son William Thomas in 1888 and Found in an Historical Sketch and Genealogy of the Thomas Families, 1888–1895," 55, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).
2. Flora Diana Bean Horne, comp., *Autobiography of George Washington Bean, a Utah Pioneer of 1847 and His Family Records* (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1945), 62.
3. Isaac Higbee to Brigham Young, 15 October 1849, Brigham Young Office Files, LDS Church Archives.
4. James S. Brown, *Life of a Pioneer: Being the Autobiography of James S. Brown* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons Company, 1900), 132.
5. Ibid.
6. Higbee to Young, 15 October 1849.
7. Brown, *Life of a Pioneer,* 132–33.
8. Higbee to Young, 15 October 1849.
9. Ibid.
10. Charles C. Rich, Journal, 10 October 1849, Charles Coulson Rich Collection, LDS Church Archives.
11. Brown, *Life of a Pioneer,* 133.
12. Higbee to Young, 15 October 1849.
13. Ibid.
14. Brigham Young to Isaac Higbee, 18 October 1849, Brigham Young Office Files.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. "Provo in 1849," *Provo Daily Enquirer,* 27 November 1894.

18. Mary Haws York, Statement, Daughters of Utah Pioneers Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Perry Special Collections).

19. Early History of Provo or Historical Records and Minutes of Provo Stake, 18 October 1849, 23, LDS Church Archives.

20. Thomas Bullock, October Conference Notes, 7 October 1849, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

21. John Hudson to Benjamin Hudson, 6 October 1849, as quoted in Brigham D. Madsen, ed., *A Forty-niner in Utah With the Stansbury Exploration of Great Salt Lake: Letters and Journal of John Hudson 1848–50,* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund and University of Utah Library, 1981), 70.

22. John Hudson to My dear Father, 2 April 1850, in Madsen, *John Hudson,* 75–6.

23. Ibid., 76.

24. Ibid., 77.

25. Ibid., 77–78.

26. Thomas, "Autobiography of Robert T. Thomas," 53.

27. John E. Warner to Royal E. Robbins, 11 March 1852, in Madsen, *John Hudson,* 105.

28. Lieutenant John W. Gunnison, Field Journal, 6 November 1849, as quoted in Brigham D. Madsen, ed., *Exploring the Great Salt Lake: The Stansbury Expedition of 1849–50* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund and University of Utah Library, 1989), 232.

29. Ibid., 9 November 1849, 235–36.

30. Ibid., 11 November 1849, 237.

31. Ibid., 238.

32. Albert Carrington, Field Journal, 12 November 1849, in Madsen, *Exploring the Great Salt Lake,* 239.

33. Lyndia and D. Robert Carter, "Finding Fort Utah," 23–24, a copy in the possession of the author. This paper was completed for Provo City in 1999, as the culmination of a project to find the site of the original Fort Utah.

34. Gunnison, Field Journal, 14 November 1849, in Madsen, *Exploring Great Salt Lake,* 244.

35. Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 26 November 1849, 2, LDS Church Archives (hereafter cited as Journal History).

36. Ibid., 26 November 1849, 2; 27 November 1849, 1.

37. Thomas Bullock, Notes, 3 December 1849, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

38. Early History of Provo, 10 December 1849, 23.

39. Jane Park Jones, "Biography of John Park," History of Pioneers Daughters of Utah County Pioneers 1911–1923, 147–48, Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, Provo, Utah.

40. Hamilton Gardner, The Utah Territorial Militia, 159, typescript, Utah Valley Regional Family History Center, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

41. Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 62.

42. Alexander Williams and J.T. Willis to Brigham Young and Isaac Higbee, 7 January 1850, Brigham Young Office Files, LDS Church Archives.

43. Peter W. Conover, Journal, 2, typescript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

44. Hosea Stout, Diary, 8 January 1850, in Hosea Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout 1844–1861*, 2 vols., ed. Juanita Brooks (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1964) 2:359.

45. James Bean made a statement on 12 June 1854 relating to the circumstances of Old Bishop's death. In that statement, Bean claimed that the treacherous killing occurred in January 1850. The incident may have been revealed to the legislature in January of 1850, but there is good evidence that it occurred months earlier and was kept a secret.

George Washington Bean, James' son, may have been unaware of his father's 12 June 1854 statement. George claims in his autobiography that the killing occurred in early August 1849. His story is supported by another original settler, John Clark, who said the murder of Old Bishop took place in the fall of 1849, and an anonymous newspaper article which said the murder took place "about the fore part of August." This article was written by an original settler, possibly George Washington Bean's brother, James Addison Bean. Other original settlers who still lived in Provo at the time the article was published in 1894 were Joseph and John Clark, John Turner, Nathaniel Williams and Henry W. Wilson. The article may have been written by one of them.

The chronology of events at Fort Utah seems to substantiate August as the date of the murder. It is possible James Bean set the event in January to prevent censure of the local authorities at Fort Utah for not telling Brigham Young about the incident earlier. Apparently, the killing was kept a secret until January. Possibly, when James Bean stated the killing took place in January, he was remembering the date when the news of the murder was made public.

Brigham Young claimed in his history of the church in an entry dated January 1850 that he did not know about Old Bishop's death until James Bean made his statement in 1854. Young maintained that if he had known of the incident in January 1850, he would have been unlikely to vote for war against the Indians in Utah Valley. The settlers of Fort Utah may have managed to keep the secret from Young for several months, but it is almost impossible that he did not know of the murder in February of 1850. Old Bishop's death was announced in the legislature 8 January 1850. If the whole legislature knew about the death, so, it would seem, did Brigham Young.

James Bean, Statement, 12 June 1854, LDS Church Archives; George Washington Bean, "Autobiography of George Washington Bean," 44, LDS Church Archives; Pearl Yates Clark, comp., "History of John Clark," 1940, 4, typescript in possession of the author; "Provo in 1849," 27 November 1894; History of the Church 1835–[ca. 1882], January 1850, 17, LDS Church Archives.

46. Brigham Young to the Brethren in Utah Valley, 8 January 1850, handwritten

copy of original, Brigham Young Office Files.

47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Bean, Statement, 12 June 1854.
52. Journal History, 22 January 1850, 2.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., 3.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., 28 January 1850, 1.
57. Bullock, Notes, 31 January 1850.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Barney Ward was another interpreter who lived at Fort Utah.
64. Ibid.; General Church Minutes, 31 January 1850, LDS Church Archives; Salt Lake City High Council Minutes, 31 January 1850, Brigham Young Office Files.

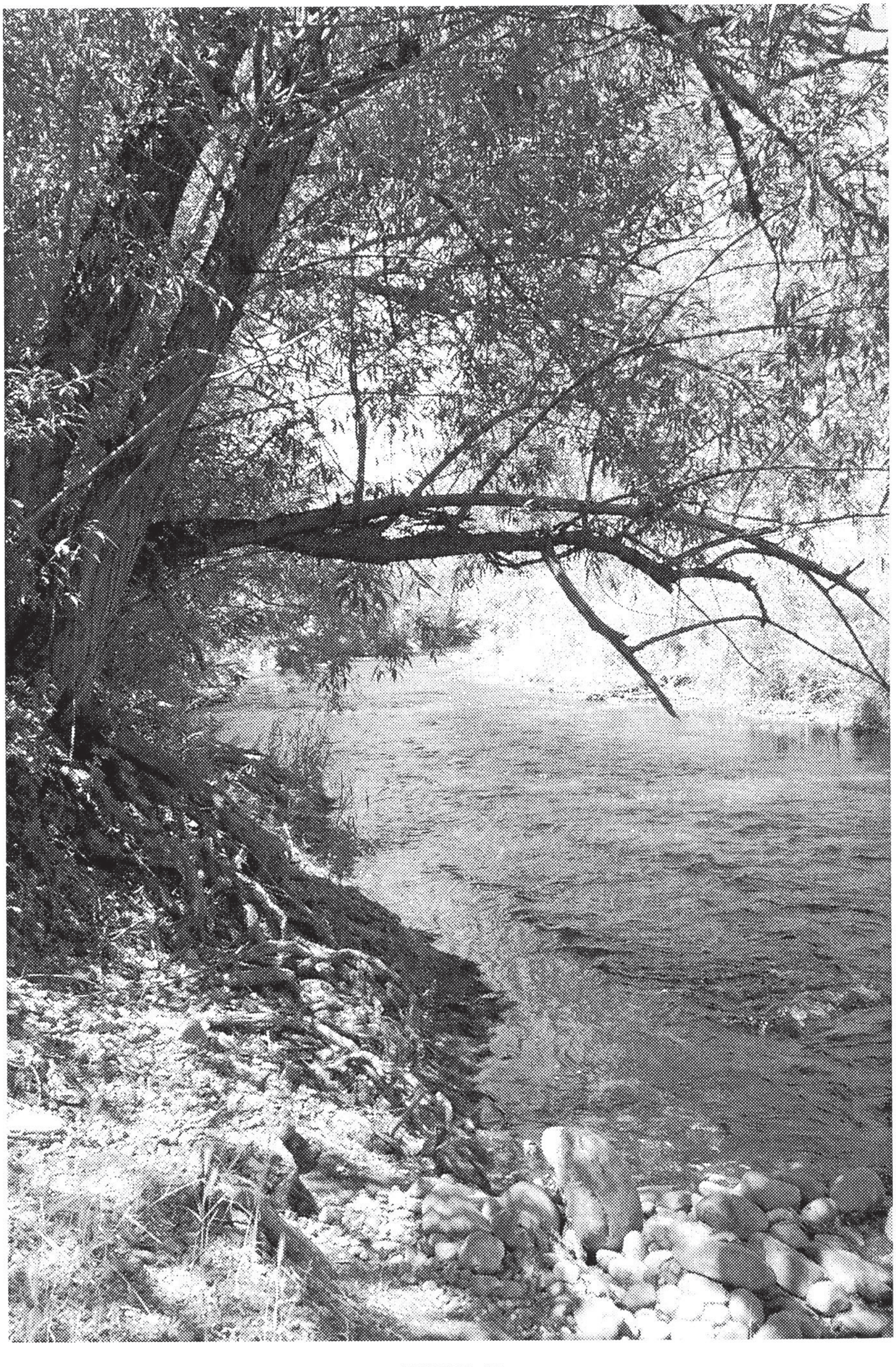

FIGURE 47

The Battle of Provo River occured near this site on 8–9 February 1850. *The Ute Indians occupied a fortified village near the river, which was attacked by the territorial militia.* PHOTO COURTESY STEPHEN A. HALES.

CHAPTER 9

The Battle of Provo River

MAJOR GENERAL DANIEL H. WELLS, COMMANDER OF THE Utah Territorial Militia, wasted no time in issuing orders in accordance with the wishes of the Brigham Young and the high council. The same day as the meeting, 31 January 1850, he sent Special Order No. 1 to Colonel John Scott and Special Order No. 2 to Captain George D. Grant. Their orders were virtually identical. Wells directed Scott and Grant to each raise a company of fifty men and provide them with horses and weapons. In addition, he instructed the two officers to see that the men possessed sufficient rations and ammunition to last for twenty days.

Wells commanded Scott and Grant to proceed to Utah Valley with as little delay as possible to help put down the hostile Indians in that area. The officers received orders to exterminate all warriors who did not "separate themselves from their hostile clans, and sue for peace."[1] Wells emphasized that the officers were to permit no violence to women and children—"unless the same shall be demanded by attendant circumstances."[2] The council leaders felt that the Utes had received sufficient warnings about the consequences of shooting at the colonists and killing their cattle. Hence, Wells directed the commanders to "proceed against them, without further apprisal, or notice, and execute your orders."[3]

Brigham Young, Daniel H. Wells, and other Mormon leaders knew that the responsibility for dealing with these Indian problems lay with the United States soldiers at Fort Hall in present day southern Idaho. However, deep snow and cold weather made roads from Fort Hall to Utah Valley almost impassable. Wells and the others correctly deemed that any kind of rapid action from these soldiers was impossible. Therefore, the burden of conducting the campaign fell entirely upon the territorial militia. Seeking to secure some kind of government sanction for their upcoming expedition, Young, Wells, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, George A. Smith, George D. Grant and Thomas Bullock visited U.S. Army Captain Howard Stansbury at his lodgings in Salt Lake City about sundown 1 February. The Mormon leaders conversed with Stansbury and Lieutenant John W. Gunnison about the Indian problems in Utah Valley until about 7:30 that evening.[4]

The officers agreed with the Mormons that a campaign against the Timpanogots Utes was necessary. Concerning the meeting, Gunnison wrote in his field journal, "Dignitaries have called to ask the opinion of Capt. S. and received explicit advice to attack them while the snow keeps them from their mountain hiding places."[5]

The Mormons added their own unique religious interpretation to the advice they received from Stansbury and Gunnison. The Historian's Office Journal states that the church leaders received advice "to use up the marauders forthwith, as they [Stansbury and Gunnison] consider the Almighty is now fighting for us in filling up the Kanyons with deep Snow so that the Indians cannot escape."[6]

In Stansbury's formal report of his surveying expedition, he listed at length the reasons for his support of the Indian campaign:

> Knowing, as I did, most of the circumstances, and feeling convinced that some action of the kind would ultimately have to be resorted to, as the forbearance already shown had been only attributed to weakness and cowardice, and had served but to encourage further and bolder outrages, I did not hesitate to say to them that, in my judgment, the contemplated expedition against these savage marauders was a measure not only of good policy, but one of absolute necessity and self-preservation. I knew the leader of the Indians [Old Elk] to be a crafty and blood-thirsty savage, who had been already guilty of several murders, and had openly threatened that he would kill every white man that he found alone upon the prairies. In addition to this, I was convinced that the completion of the yet unfinished survey of Utah Valley, the coming season, must otherwise be attended with serious difficulty, if not actual hazard, and would involve the necessity of a largely increased and armed escort for its protection. Such being the circumstances, the course proposed could not but meet my entire approval.[7]

The paymaster and other United States officers from Fort Hall who were in Salt Lake City at the time, also agreed with Gunnison and Stansbury: attack was necessary.[8]

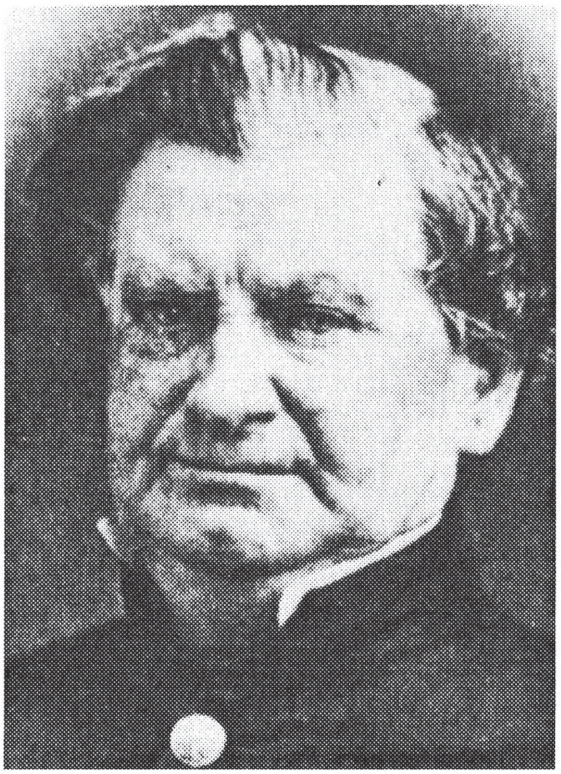

FIGURE 48

Howard Stansbury commanded the U.S. Topographical Engineers in Utah Territory as they surveyed and mapped the Great Salt Lake and Utah Lake. *Mormons asked his advice before conducting a campaign against the Utes in Utah Valley. The Mormon plan to exterminate the Ute warriors who lived east of Utah Lake met with Stansbury's "entire approval."*
COURTESY UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Meanwhile, word of Isaac Higbee's appeal to the Salt Lake City High Council for aid spread rapidly through that city. In his journal, Alexander Neibaur recorded on 1 February, "word come the Indians in Uta valy destroying Cattle."[9] That evening Joseph Grafton Hovey attended a dancing party. Indian problems and Higbee's report were the main topics of conversation.[10]

A meeting for the men of Salt Lake City convened at 10:00 A.M. Saturday, 2 February, in the Council House. An hour later, Brigham Young addressed the assemblage. As he sought to prepare the gathering for the call that he would soon issue, Young described the Indian depredations in Utah Valley and explained why it was necessary to end them. He appealed to the chivalrous nature of the men by saying that the women and children at Fort Utah needed protection. Captain Stansbury, who was present at the meeting, expressed approval of the Mormon President's remarks. Following Young's short speech, Wells called for volunteers and reviewed their instructions.[11]

Sunday meeting opened the next day in the bowery on what would later be called Temple Square. During that meeting, Major General Daniel H. Wells granted Captain George D. Grant, not his superior, Colonel John Scott, permission to organize the first company to go to the aid of the people of Fort Utah. Wells also permitted Grant to take some members of Scott's company as well as his own men. Grant made arrangements to leave Salt Lake City first, leaving Scott to follow with whatever men he could raise.[12]

The cold weather and deep snow made it "necessary to draft men capable of great endurance and who could equip themselves well."[13] James Leach remembered the bowery meeting and later wrote, "there being a call made to go to utah valley to fight the indians i was one of the number."[14] That morning William H. Walker traveled toward the canyon to get a load of wood. When he neared the

Deseret News Office, he "was requested to return home and get provisions and blankets and report as soon as possible."[15] Walker and an assistant were assigned to drive the wagon containing the cannon that the troops called the "Long Range."[16]

Captain Stansbury demonstrated his willingness to help the expedition in any possible way. He penned a letter to Brigham Young in which he volunteered, free of charge, the services of Lieutenant George W. Howland to act as adjutant and Dr. James Blake to serve as physician. Young accepted the offer. Stansbury also said he would furnish Grant with all the available arms he could spare and also tents, camp-equipage, and ammunition. The U.S. Army captain ended his letter: "Wishing every Success to the expedition & that it may effectually prevent the necessity of any farther measures."[17]

Grant gathered the provisions necessary to begin the campaign and received the proffered guns, ammunition, and supplies from Stansbury. However, the militia still lacked one very necessary commodity. Since most of the draught animals the pioneers used to pull their wagons west were oxen, there were not enough horses and mules available to furnish mounts for all of the expedition's men and pull their supply wagons. Wells considered this to be one of the leading problems encountered in supplying his troops.[18] It compelled him to order the requisition of horses and mules from the general population, sometimes without permission.

Some people were upset by this necessity. Patty Sessions complained in her journal, "our horses both took from us to go to Utah without leave." Before the conflict was over, Sessions had reason to grumble. Her mare "lost her colt while in the war at Utah and had her back tore very bad." The mare later died as well. Not until summer's end did Sessions receive eighty dollars as compensation.[19]

A few people like J.M. Livingston, a merchant, petitioned Brigham Young for the return of their animals. Livingston wrote a letter to the Mormon leader asking for the return of his four mules. He had recently bought the mules and had begun to strengthen them for a trip

FIGURE 49

Patty Sessions served as a druggist, dentist, surgeon, and midwife in early Utah. *Due to a scarcity of horses, she and many others had their animals requisitioned for the militia to use in the campaign against the Utes in Utah Valley.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

to the states which he planned to begin in mid-February. He feared his animals would be returned to him in poor shape after the campaign and would arrive in Salt Lake City too late to start the trip.[20] Young's decision in this case remains unknown, but chances are that it would have taken some powerful incentives for Livingston to get his animals back before the hostilities ceased in Utah Valley.

Other citizens seem to have harbored no ill feelings about volunteering the use of their animals. Joseph Grafton Hovey mentioned the militia being "sent to the Utahn to correct the Indians." Then he simply wrote, "I let my horses and saddle go."[21] One wonders if he had better luck than Patty Sessions.

Colonel John Scott showed little enthusiasm for raising his company of men and preparing them for the impending encounter in Utah Valley. He did, however, take one notable action. Scott ordered from Elijah Thomas four gallons of his best brandy at the cost of eight dollars a gallon. This liquid courage was intended for use by "the Battalion now ordered out against the Indians."[22] Frontier troops sometimes utilized more than the standard type of ammunition.

On the morning of 4 February, Grant's men, variously referred to as the Mounted Rangers, Minute Men, or Life Guards, made final preparations to leave Salt Lake City. They were supposedly leaving before Scott's men because General Wells did not deem it advisable to detain the departure for Fort Utah until both companies were ready. Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards offered encouragement to the troops. Then Young addressed the men in the street opposite the Council House. At noon Grant's men left for their first campsite, the Mormon settlement on Cottonwood Creek.[23]

The legislature assembled at 2:00 P.M. that afternoon. Wells had earlier ordered Scott to raise another complement of men and join Grant on the trail to Utah Valley as rapidly as possible. In spite of this order, Scott met with the legislature and made no apparent effort to organize his company. Hosea Stout, who attended the legislative session, wrote of Scott's actions, "About sun set he requested a hearing and commenced a series of impelcations against Mjr Genl [Wells] & Gov [Young] under the head of misunderstanding."[24] Scott felt that it was an insult for Wells to send Grant toward Fort Utah first. The colonel also resented the fact that Captain Grant had received permission to take not only his own men, but some of Scott's men as well. Making his feelings clear to Wells and Young, Scott also disagreed with the section of Well's orders that permitted the killing of Indian women and children if circumstances justified such action.[25]

Stout wrote describing the result of Scott's actions, "After he was through the Gov[ernor] gave him his mind roughly showing him that he was wilfully neglecting his duty, &c which ended by Scott giveing up his papers and withdrawing from the expedition."[26] The colonel was formally court martialed in early March for refusing to obey orders and using language "calculated to discourage the men enrolled for the Expedition against the Indians."[27] Scott later admitted that he had said within hearing distance of the men that the expedition would be a "shit-arse and flat-out failure." The court found Scott guilty and, even though he had already resigned his position in the militia, the tribunal made his dismissal final.[28]

General Wells expeditiously appointed Captain Andrew Lytle to take Scott's place, and the captain quickly went about organizing a second company. He eventually gathered about thirty men and set out on Grant's trail.

On 4 February, Grant's troops made camp on Cottonwood Creek near Bishop Crosby's house and spent their time gathering more horses and supplies. During the night, Colonel Anson P. Rockwood arrived with a communication from Wells. The commander directed Grant to furnish his office with a list of how many men, horses, and provisions there were in camp. Wells wanted to know if Grant had more provisions than he needed, and if so, how much of a surplus the company had.[29]

At 2:00 A.M., the blaring of a bugle roused the men from their sleep, and their officers compiled the information requested by Wells. Lieutenant George W. Howland, who was on loan from Captain Howard Stansbury's U.S. Topographical Engineers, acted as Grant's adjutant. He received the responsibility of putting the compiled information in a letter to Wells. Howland reported "76 Officers and privates with the addition of 12 for the use of the [artillery] pieces." Six acted as teamsters. All of the men carried arms and ammunition. They benefited from the presence of eighty-three animals, "including saddle, team horses and mules."[30]

In regards to provisions, the company carried enough grain and flour to last eighty-eight men for fifteen days, and they could obtain enough beef locally to last for the duration of the campaign. However, the company lacked feed for the animals. Grant's men possessed only seventy bushels of grain, enough to feed their animals just

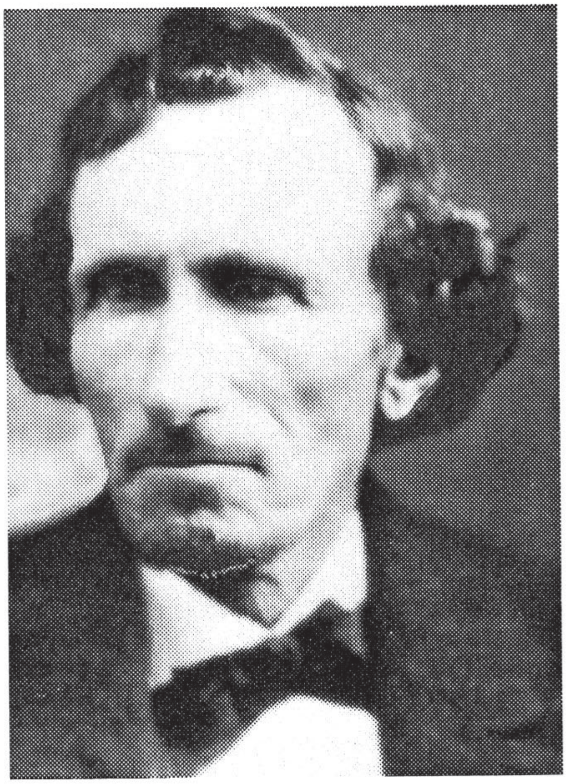

FIGURE 50

Captain George D. Grant led the first company of militia to the aid of the people at Fort Utah. *On 8–9 February 1850, Grant directed the troops in their attack on a fortified Ute village during the Battle of Provo River.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

four days. Howland also reported the possibility of obtaining an additional ten to seventy-five horses in southern Salt Lake Valley. The more horses Grant procured, the more feed he would need. Rockwood left the militia later that morning to deliver the information to Wells.[31]

That evening Captain Lytle and about twenty-eight more men joined Grant's force, and while the combined group remained in their cold camp on Cottonwood Creek, the leading men in Salt Lake City danced and dined. Their ball began at 4:00 P.M. Later that evening, about 100 guests ate supper. Most of those in attendance danced until dawn, but Brigham Young and Ezra T. Benson left the party at midnight.[32] They had important business to attend to the next morning.

Young and Benson ate breakfast at John D. Lee's house on 6 February. Then the two traveled with Daniel H. Wells to the area where the troops had rendezvoused. The leaders reached Cottonwood and visited with the militia one last time before the fighting men departed for Utah Valley. "They Expressed their Gratification at seeing every one look and feel so well." Just before noon, the militia began their march southward and encamped at "Browns Camp" [Draper] after four hours of travel.[33]

Grant's and Lytle's Mounted Rangers made an early start in the frosty air and slowly struggled southward on 7 February.[34] They broke a trail through snow varying in depth from ten inches to about two feet. Traveling conditions were miserable. One of the militiamen, James A. Little, later recalled, "The winter was unusually severe, the snow deep and the weather extremely cold, and it remained quite uniformly so throughout the campaign."[35] Little and possibly others joined express rider Miles Weaver, a resident of Fort Utah, and moved southward ahead of the main body of troops. This advance group reached the fort a few hours ahead of the main body of troops and informed the colonists that over 100 minutemen followed not far behind.[36]

The rest of the troops stopped for supper near American Fork Creek and arrived at the fort about 8:00 P.M. under cover of darkness.[37] They did not receive a rousing welcome from the impoverished inhabitants of the fort, but their hosts provided what comforts they possessed. James A. Little probably expressed the feelings of the majority of the troops when he wrote:

> While it was well understood that the little Provo colony had not much to impart to their brethren who had come to their assistance, those brethren had come with willing hearts to help them. They had also brought grain for their animals and food for themselves. What they expected of the settlers was a kindly hospitality, the comfortable shelter of their cabins when it could be available and the little forage which they had to be given to their animals to keep them in condition for the hard service they must necessarily perform.[38]

The settlers took the militiamen into their rather cramped sixteen-square-foot cabins and offered them the comparative luxury of a few hours of much-needed sleep on the floor of a warm, dry shelter.

The men settled into their quarters, but Captains Grant and Lytle with some of their officers from Salt Lake Valley met with Captain Peter W. Conover and some of his officers from Fort Utah. Together they planned the initial attack. William Hickman claims to have been present in this meeting. He later recalled, "The canteen [full of liquor] passed around frequently, which inspired their minds, and made assurance of an early victory next morning."[39] If Hickman's report is accurate, the officers may have put to good use the four gallons of Elijah Thomas' best brandy ordered by Colonel John Scott on 4 February.

Regardless of whether any were influenced by the manifestation of the spirit, the leaders developed a basic strategy that they hoped would be successful. Grant planned to split his forces, sending both cavalry and infantry a mile up either side of the Provo River to surround the Indian camp and prevent their escape.[40] Once the Utes were encircled, Grant planned to shell the Indian camp with artillery. This, combined with rifle fire from infantrymen acting as bushwhackers on the east and west sides of the river would, he strategized, flush the Indians out of their hiding places into the more open land. Here they would be fair game for cavalry detachments led by Lieutenants James A. Little, William Kimball, and James Ferguson.

In the morning, the officers got their men ready to move, and shortly after nine o'clock, the cavalrymen started up the river. Lieutenant Alexander Williams, a member of the Fort Utah militia, moved with thirty infantrymen up the east side of the stream. William H. Walker and the artillerymen under Lieutenant Howland pulled the cannon to open land on the same side of the river and positioned it as near the Indian village as possible. Walker and others unhitched the horses and took them to a safer position about 100 yards away from the field piece.[41] Captain Peter W. Conover, Fort Utah's highest ranking officer, had taken over command of the militia after Captain Jefferson Hunt left to guide the gold seekers to California. Near the fort, Conover crossed to the west side of the river with about sixty infantrymen and started upstream. He marched his men to a spot opposite the Indian encampment which was situated across the stream from them on the east side of Provo River. Then Conover had his men turn right and work their way through thick brush to take positions near the stream.

When Grant, who was roughly opposite Conover on the east side of the river, judged that all his men were in their assigned positions, he moved to a point near the Indian camp to reconnoiter the Ute position and find out their intentions. Grant found the Utes in possession of a formidable, very defensible site. An 1856 map created under the direction of Territorial Surveyor General

David H. Burr shows the area on the Provo River where the Indians camped to be a maze of small rivulets and branches of the main channel of the Provo. Some of the streamlets flowed southward through the future townsite of Provo City, but most of the branches eventually rejoined the main stream and flowed to the southwest, emptying into Utah Lake. This labyrinth of small streams nourished rank undergrowth and a multitude of trees. Dry stream beds that wove through the area also provided effective hiding places.

James A. Little, who was on the battlefield that day, later described the Ute encampment in detail:

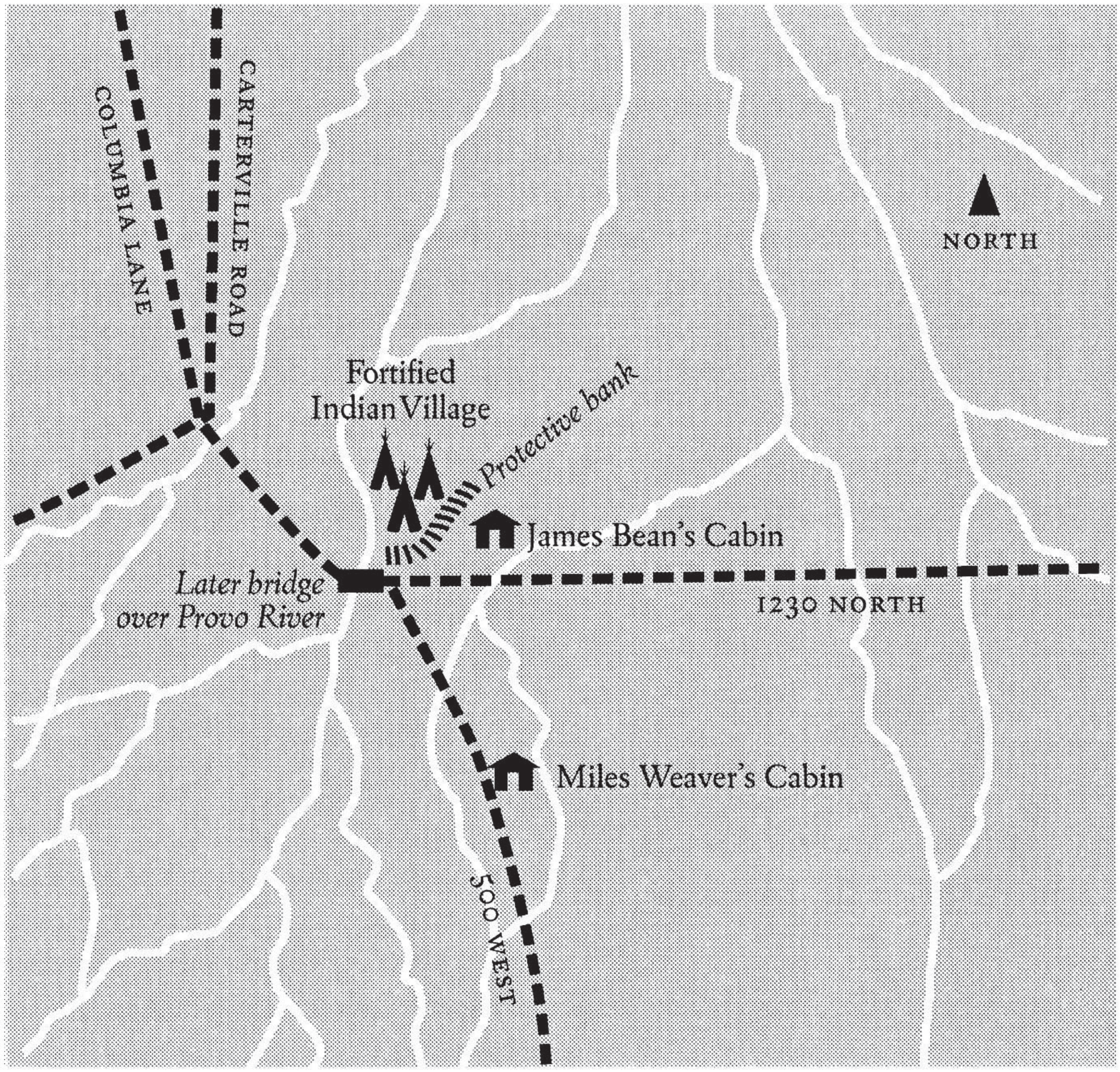
COLUMBIA LANE
CARTERVILLE ROAD
NORTH
Fortified Indian Village
Protective bank
James Bean's Cabin
Later bridge over Provo River
1230 NORTH
Miles Weaver's Cabin
500 WEST

FIGURE 51

The battleground on Provo River. *The Mormon militia and the Utes from Utah Valley fought the two-day Battle of Provo River in an area lying between the Provo River and 1230 North and between 300 West and 700 West. Several approximate locations are shown on this map, drawn from an 1856 map of the area. The Utes manned positions in their village, behind a protective bank that was cut by a former channel of Provo River, and in James Bean's partially completed log cabin located only 100 to 150 feet from the Ute village. The militia made their field headquarters in Miles Weaver's log cabin located a quarter- to a half-mile south of the Indian village.*

> Above the settlement the timber and thick under growth which skirted the Provo assumed considerable proportions, and the river ran near the southern edge of it. A little south of the stream and skirting its lowest bottom was a bank of sufficient height to afford the Indians very good shelter. They occupied an excellent position for defence. A short distance from this bank a little up the stream and within short rifle range of the edge of the timber stood the body of a log house. The spaces between the logs were unchinked and near the end which was nearest the timber a doorway had been cut in the logs. In long rifle range of this position and about south of it was another log house which was about the center of Maj. Grant's position. The number of Indians was a matter of conjecture.[42]

James Bean had worked during the spring and summer to establish a farm about a mile upstream from the fort and was building the cabin that was located closest to the river. It was situated only 100 to 150 feet from the Indian village. During the daytime Bean worked on his farm, but he spent his evenings in the fort for safety. For some time he had not dared venture to his farm for fear of the Utes. His son, George Washington Bean, wrote that the family's double log cabin was used as "a sort of barracks for the Indians"[43] during the battle.

FIGURE 52

William H. Walker, a member of Salt Lake City's militia, was on the way to the canyon for a load of wood when he was requisitioned to fight Indians in Utah Valley. *He helped drive the wagon containing the cannon and served on the crew that manned the "Long Range" during the first day of battle.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

When the militia descended upon the Ute village, they found unexpected defenses. Aroet Hale, who came with Captain Grant, described the situation, "[We] found the Indians fortified in a Old Bed of the Provo River. They had fell Cottonwood treas along the Bank and piled up Snow, with port holes through the Snow which Completely hid them from Our View."[44]

All was ready shortly before noon, and Grant led a group of mounted men to the Ute village. Dimick B. Huntington rode along as interpreter. Huntington called the chiefs out to talk. Old Elk, the acting war chief, was "brave, cool, and determined, standing over six feet high."[45] He favored war and remained in the fortified area. Ope-Carry, called Stick-in-the-Head, was recognized by the settlers as the head chief. He came out and talked. Stick-in-the-Head was inclined to make a treaty after seeing the number of troops surrounding the Indian camp. However, Old Elk's warlike influence swayed the warriors in the stronghold. The Utes opened fire instead of suing for peace, and the Battle of Provo River began.[46]

Much of the Indian fire came from the log house.[47] Appleton Harmon said the Utes kept "up a constant fire which was sent back as warmly by our people."[48] The shots from both sides took little effect. William H. Walker recalled, "The first volley fired by the Indians went clear over and struck the ground above the horses. It was so cold and clear that I could see the blue streak of the balls as they passed over."[49] The militia's superior rifles seem to have more accurately found their targets even though the men were firing more or less blindly into the thick brush and timber. James Leach, a militiaman from Salt Lake Valley, wrote of the intense action, "We where closely engaged both parties firing at each other the indians being secreted from our sight by timber so that we could not see them only by the flash of their gun."[50] According to early Utah historian Edward Tullidge, the Utes made things a little more interesting and exciting by running out of their natural stockade, firing, and scampering back to cover.[51]

Captain Grant wasted no time calling the "Long Range" into service. Thomas J. Orr, Jr., who helped bring this cannon across the Mormon Trail mounted on wagon wheels, declared that its muzzle was as wide as a stove lid. He said the artillerymen charged the cannon "with black powder and loaded [it] almost to the muzzle with scrap iron, bits of chain, rocks etc."[52]

James Leach, who served as an artilleryman, described how the Utes reacted to the first cannon shot. He wrote:

> We loaded her and fired in a complete thicket of timbers not knowing wither the indians were there or not only by report from the settlers after firing the first shot into the timber avolcana of balls come out of the timber from the indians it seemed by the sound of the balls in the air that our lives was in danger all the time but the lord our god preserved our lives.[53]

George Mayer substantiated Leach's version of the engagement. He reported that the cannon fired into the Indian position from a distance of about 450 feet. The result was, "the Indens Returnd the fire with Rifils and the boolets wised among us like hale, and Severl of our men ware woonded."[54] Unless the cannon fire was more accurate than Mayer's spelling, the Utes had nothing to fear.

The officers soon found that they had positioned the cannon too close to the Ute stronghold. The constant hail of bullets from the Indian village and cabin put the artillerymen in an extremely perilous situation. A partially spent slug struck John Topham's arm hard enough to leave a bruise. Alex Stephens received a wound to the thigh while he was loading the cannon. Orders came to pull the field piece back to a safer position near Miles Weaver's cabin.[55] William H. Walker, who later described the maneuver he used to reposition the cannon, lamented the gun's eventual ineffectiveness:

> I was called to move the cannon. I wanted my assistant to take the leaders by the bits, keeping the horses between us and the fire, and I would lead the others, but he would not do it. In this extreme moment there was no time to hesitate or argue the point, so I jumped on the front axle, popped the whip to the horses and drove around double quick and took the cannon off without being hit or one of my horses hurt. The cannon was then placed beyond the range of the rifle. The firing of the cannon was kept up all day, the balls cutting large limbs from the trees but availed nothing and the Indians laughed heartily at the 'harmless gun.'[56]

Most of the cannon shots apparently went over the Ute camp. The Indians found protection under the six-foot-high river bank, which also protected the village to some degree. In addition, the Utes hid themselves behind their log fortifications and in the dense trees and underbrush. Aroet L. Hale summed up the situation by writing that the artillerymen shot "away all Our Canon Balls & Grape Shot, and a Set of Blick Smith tools Sech as harmers and Other hevy peaces of I[r]on to no avale."[57]

Edward Tullidge related a story the old settlers told about the cannon. According to Tullidge, Jacob Hoffeins, a "Dutchman" from Salt Lake Valley, helped man the artillery piece. After being told that the cannon balls were going over the village, he offered the following suggestion: "By Got, poys, elevate it a little lower!" At this point Riley G. Clark, a resident of Fort Utah, demanded permission to aim the cannon and succeeded in putting a shot into the village.[58]

On the first day of battle, the pioneer cannon propelled quantities of heavy metal in the direction of the Ute fortification. Although the militia deemed the artillery ineffective, the much-maligned cannon apparently did cause some casualties. More than thirty years later, veterans of the fight told Edward Tullidge that one of the bodies later found on the battleground was a "squaw being found in a wickiup with her legs cut off by a chain shot."[59]

After the first big hurrah, the hottest action took place on the west side of the river where the land was not as open and the thick underbrush allowed the militia to edge a little closer to the Indian village. From this position, Conover's bushwhackers experienced more success than the artillery. When Conover moved his men down toward the river, he noticed the Ute horse herd standing just over the stream from his men. Quite an interval stood between the bunched animals and the Indian stronghold situated near the steep bank some distance east of the river.[60] At the time, the Utes were apparently too preoccupied with the troops and cannon to the east to notice the men in the brush on the west side of the river. Conover, knowing any loss of animals would hurt the Indians' chances for victory or escape, called for volunteers to cross the river, get the horses, and drive the animals back to the west bank. When no men accepted the challenge, Captain Conover ordered Lieutenant Robert Egbert and Sergeant Robert T. Thomas to accompany him. The trio entered the icy river and waded across. Once they were on the opposite shore, they rounded up about a half dozen horses and drove them back across the Provo.

Just as the horse thieves ascended the opposite bank with their plunder, they were discovered. Robert T. Thomas described what happened next:

> The Indians seen us and begain to shoot at us. I turned around to see which way they was shooting from, just then a rifle ball struck a twig about 6 feet from my head and [it] turned the ball [which] went between my legs and struck the snow behind me (after wards I measured it where it struck the limbd, and if it had not been for the twig the ball would have hit me in the head)[61]

One Ute caught sight of Peter Conover. Recognizing him as the leader of the militia at Fort Utah, the Indian shot at Conover six times from behind a tree. One ball grazed Conover's cheek.[62] He later recalled, "It felt like a hot iron passing over my face."[63] The captain spied the Ute who was firing at him. Conover took careful aim and the next time the Indian stuck his head out from behind the tree, the officer shot and hit his adversary in the cheek. Blood from the wound blinded the Ute, and he was unable to return fire. The Ute, whose name was Fisherman, survived the wound and later became Conover's good friend. Fisherman remained in the area until his death in about 1889.[64]

After the three men returned to the west bank with the Indian horses, a Ute climbed a tree to scout the position of the bushwhackers and fire upon them, if possible. Private Albert Miles, who came with the men from Salt Lake Valley, saw the sniper and borrowed Lieutenant George Howland's smooth-bore musket. Being a crack shot, Miles dropped the venturesome Ute from his perch.[65]

Later that day, the Utes gained a measure of revenge. Albert Miles found himself on the receiving end of a bullet. Both Harrison Sperry, Sr. and Robert T. Thomas recorded accounts of this event. Sperry acted as a bushwhacker on the west side of the river. He and his companions crawled through the brush and snow to positions from which they could shoot at the Indians on the other side of the Provo. Sperry witnessed, first hand, Albert Miles' misfortune. He later described the incident:

> Two or three others and I crawled up within four or five rods [sixty-six to eighty-two feet] of their stronghold. We could even hear them talk. They got sight of us somehow and all at once a bullet came whizzing at us. A

> man by the name of Miles was shot right by my side. He was shot through both thighs. We grabbed him and dragged him back out of reach. We took him to the fort.[66]

Robert T. Thomas' version of the affair basically substantiates Sperry's tale and probably explains how the Utes happened to see the militiamen on the other side of the river. Thomas was ordered to take his snipers down by the stream. According to Thomas, he was the Indian's target, not Miles. Thomas remembered it like this:

> I came to a open place in the brush, passing down a little reviene I heared a gun go of[f] across the river about 5 rds [eighty-two feet], I was between the Indian and a man by the name of Miles Standly [Albert Miles]. I was in line with the Indian and Miles. The Indian shot an miss me and hit Miles. The ball went through his thigh. We took him about 40 rods [648 feet] and put him on a horse and sent him to the fort.[67]

Other militiamen also recorded close calls they had the first day of the battle. Joseph Harker noted that he was "shot at by five Indians at the same time . . . from just across the River one of the bullets cut the hare to the side of my cheek."[68]

Zodac K. Judd's thorough search of the dense undergrowth nearly cost him his life. He later described his experience:

> While rambling around through the bushes, I had stooped down to look under a bunch of willows which the snow had bent down. While in this position, a bullet came so near my forehead that it made the skin burn and smart, but I was not harmed. I quickly moved to another place.[69]

Under the circumstances, this seems to have been an excellent idea.

Henson Walker, who eventually settled in Pleasant Grove, came to Utah Valley with Captain Grant's company. It is surprising that the reception he received did not cool his ardor for the valley forever. Walker fought a prolonged duel with one of Old Elk's warriors. He lived to tell this story:

> I shot at an Indian sixteen times from behind a log. . . . To do him justice, he was equally active. There we were, both under cover, blazing away at each other when neither showed even a part of his body. But I had the last shot. He stuck out too much of his head and never got back.[70]

One time gold seeker John Hudson also joined the fray. He later described his experience in a letter to his family in England. For Hudson, being under fire in a battle seemed to have been an experience that bordered on euphoria:

> I volunteered to go into action as I felt curious as to the manner I could stand fire. I can say that amid cannons roar & falling balls some of them pretty close I never felt more disposed to be jocular or free from an

> uncomfortable apprehension; but it was cold fatigueing work & I was not sorry to mount a captured horse & proceed towards the fort with a prospect of plentiful dinner.[71]

After a few hours, it became apparent that the Utes were not going to be flushed from their stronghold. The militia advanced upon the Indians from every possible direction, but could not find a vulnerable spot. Both sides hunkered down in the snow for a miserable afternoon and evening of sniping and furtive shots. William C. Lewis said the conditions on the snowy battlefield were so cold "a man didn't have to pinch himself to know whether he was there or not."[72]

The tense afternoon stretched into evening, the sun mercifully setting on a cold, bitter day of fighting. When it became impossible to see anything through the brush, the bushwhackers slowly retreated toward the fort. About 7:00 P.M., after approximately seven hours of continuous engagement with the enemy, a bugle blew ordering the cavalry and artillery to begin their retreat toward Fort Utah also.[73] Peter Conover said that when the militia started back to the fort, the Indians "followed us, shooting at us all the way."[74] The militiamen returned the fire with spirit. This kept the Utes from coming too close, and not one of the retreating men was wounded.[75] William Hickman recalled that when the militiamen retreated from their positions, "the Indians set up such a yell of victory that one would think ten thousand devils had been turned loose."[76]

The men must have felt hunger pangs join the butterflies in their stomachs as they returned to the settlement. Many of them had not eaten all day. Now the women and girls of the fort showed how essential to the war effort they were. The citizen warriors all received meals. Although the food was likely very plain, and the surroundings crowded, the men undoubtedly enjoyed their simple fare and safe environment. Epsy Jane Williams, eighteen-year-old daughter of Alexander and Isabella Williams, never forgot cooking for "eighteen of the Cottonwood Company at home, besides our own family; and then after nine P.M. I went to the Bishop's

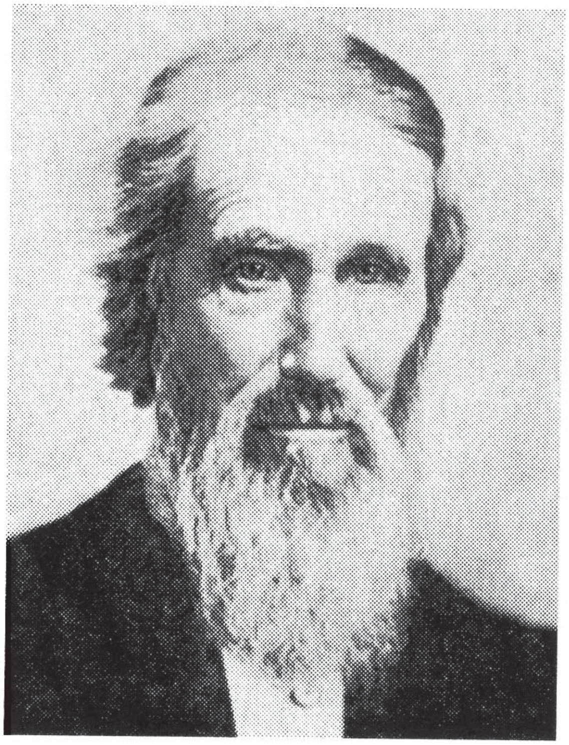

FIGURE 53

Albert Miles fought as a bushwacker on the west side of Provo River. *On the first day of battle, he shot an Indian sniper out of a tree. A short time later, a Ute ball tore through both of his thighs. He spent the rest of the campaign in a makeshift hospital at Fort Utah.* PIONEERS AND PROMINENT MEN.

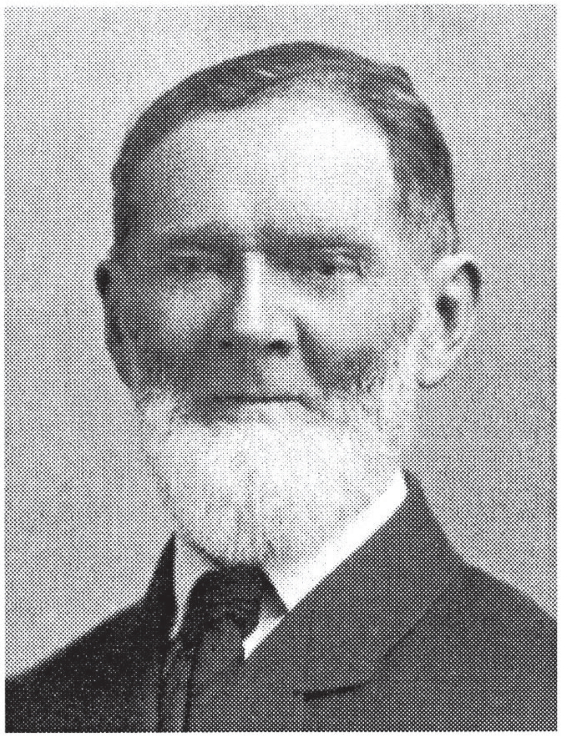

FIGURE 54

Zodac K. Judd came to Utah Valley with the Salt Lake Valley militia. *During the first day of battle, he was bending over looking for a hidden enemy under a bush that was bent down by snow when a Ute bullet grazed his forehead so closely that it burned his skin.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

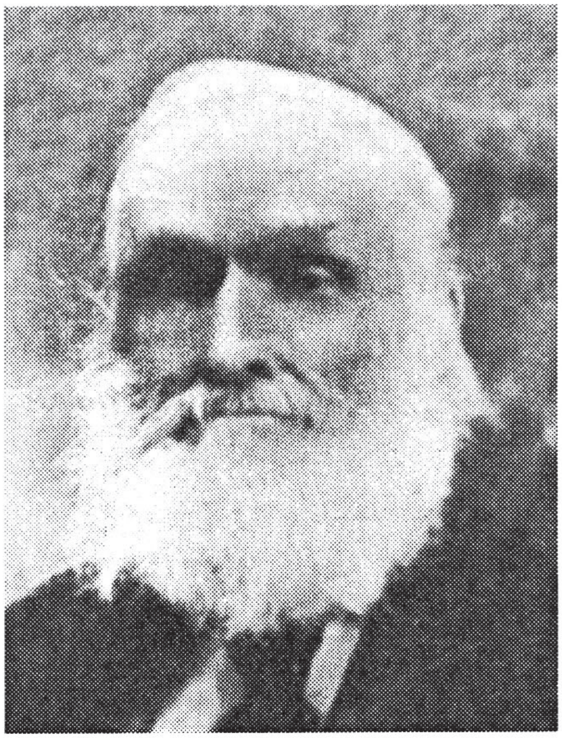

FIGURE 55

Henson Walker, who later became a resident of Pleasant Grove, fought a prolonged duel with a Ute warrior on the first day of battle. *Eventually the Indian peeked out too far from behind a tree and Walker fired the fatal shot.* PIONEERS AND PROMINENT MEN.

[Isaac Higbee] and cooked for William H. Kimball and his company of twenty five."[77]

That evening Lieutenant George W. Howland recorded the events of the first day of battle in a letter to Major General Daniel H. Wells in Salt Lake City. Howland wrote that it was difficult to ascertain how many Indians were involved, but in his opinion, warriors from the villages on Spanish Fork River and Peteetneet Creek had joined the Timpanogots.[78] Edward Tullidge later estimated that there were about seventy Ute warriors on the battleground.[79] Howland also found it impossible to report the exact number of Indian casualties. He estimated that three or four Ute men had been killed and several more, including Chief Stick-in-the-Head, were wounded. The minutemen reported seeing trails of blood in various places. James A. Little later stated that the extent of the Indian loss was never really known. The militia captured four Ute prisoners, six horses, and one colt.[80]

The troops from Salt Lake City suffered few casualties; several men received wounds. Lieutenant Howland reported that Corporal Samuel Carn and Private Albert Miles were wounded "severely but not dangerously." Private

Alexander Stephens, who served as an artilleryman, received a slight wound. Several others were bruised by spent balls. Hosea Stout wrote in his diary that James Orr was wounded when he accidentally shot himself in the foot. The injured were housed in Chauncey Turner's cabin, which the settlers had converted into a hospital. Turner's wife, Hannah, and girls like Epsy Jane Williams served as nurses.[81] Fortunately, the only dead soldiers in the fort were the empty canteens, formerly full of bravery, that had been drained during the wee hours that morning by the officers.

Howland mentioned only one major supply problem. The militia was short 100 bushels of grain for their animals, and they needed it as soon as possible. The snow was so deep that the animals could not graze, and the people of the fort possessed very little wild hay. Howland wanted General Wells to inform the next couriers from Salt Lake City when the supply wagons would likely arrive at the Point of the Mountain so that settlers could send two sleighs and escort them the rest of the way to Fort Utah.[82]

The night after the first engagement with the Utes, Grant, Lytle, Conover, and their officers held another council.[83] The sober atmosphere in this meeting differed from the optimistic scene of the night before. The officers seem to have lacked a certain inspiration; at least nobody mentions passing the canteen. The military leaders sought ways to vary the tactics they had used that day in a way that would insure success.

The militia officers worked on a plan that would give their men closer access to the Ute village from the east. The village sat close to the eastern edge of the woods so that there was not much brush in which the militia could seek cover, and the land leading from the Indian encampment to the militia's position near Miles Weaver's cabin was fairly open. Also, the Utes occupied the Bean cabin on the east side of the river, allowing them to fire on militiamen who were approaching their entrenchment from the south and east over the relatively treeless landscape.

To counter these difficulties, Lieutenant Howland suggested the use of moveable "A" shaped log batteries mounted on wheels or sleigh runners.[84] Behind these batteries, infantrymen could find shelter as they moved to within close rifle range of the village. Workmen could construct the wedges from thick planks placed edgewise. Camp blankets and buffalo robes draped over the sides of the batteries would help to impede the Indian bullets.

Captains Grant and Lytle and their officers concluded that the Bean cabin must be taken at all costs. They decided that the most feasible way to achieve this goal was by staging a daring cavalry charge. Once the cavalrymen gained the safety of the cabin's log walls, they could fire upon the Indian village from very close range.

While the officers made the necessary arrangements for the next day's battle and the men retired to their various cabins for a few hours of sleep, Indian activity excited settlers in southern Salt Lake Valley. A trio of Indians drove off three oxen from the Cottonwood settlement. In an effort to arrest any further activities of this type, General Wells called to active duty Captain John Brown, who had recently returned from the southern exploring expedition. Wells ordered Brown to raise twelve to fifteen mounted men to:

> Patrol the road between the Cotten woods and the mountains leading to Utah fort,—to protect Cattle, guard the Teams, and Keep a vigilant eye to all stragling Indians, treating all hostile ones, and those committing depradations, as the circumstances of the Case may Justify.[85]

Brown complied with the orders, and reports of Indian depredations in southern Salt Lake Valley ceased.

Captain Peter W. Conover and his men also took some defensive action before sunrise 9 February. Ang-a-te-wats (apparently the half brother of Waccara)[86] and his extended family camped just across the stream from the fort. They refused to fight the Mormons. Conover and ten men crossed the Provo River and escorted these peaceful Utes into the fort, ensuring their safety and preventing them from spying on the Mormons and relaying information to the beleaguered Indians in their fortified village up the river.[87]

Shortly after Conover arrived at the fort with the peaceful Utes, the militia moved against the Indian stronghold for a second day of action. Grant sent men up both sides of the river as he had the day before. He oversaw the action on the east side of the stream. Edmund Ellsworth and Peter Conover led their troops up the west side where action had been so intense. On this day, the hottest action took place on the western front in the morning. Then in the afternoon, the vortex of the battle switched to the eastern front.

West of Provo River Peter Conover walked along the edge of eternity once more. A young Ute brave spied him and sent two arrows in his direction. The first arrow struck his buckle and cut half way through the leather of his belt. The second glanced off the scabbard of his sword. These close calls helped solidify Conover's opinion that he was not "born to be killed by an Indian."[88]

Some members of the Fort Utah militia did not share Conover's good fortune. Epsy Jane Williams Pace later said her father, Alexander Williams, begged for the honor of leading ten men into direct combat against the Utes. With these men, Williams hoped to make things so warm for the Indians that they would abandon their stronghold. Williams received his men and crawled with them through the brush toward the west side of Provo River. The Utes spied the militiamen and pinned them down with rifle fire. Williams took a bullet through the shoulder.[89]

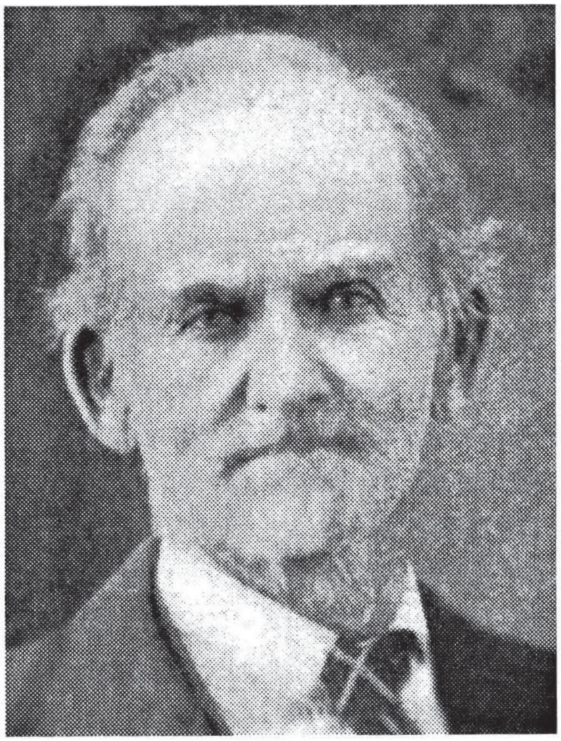

FIGURE 56

Peter W. Conover commanded Fort Utah's militia. *On the first day of battle, he and two others made a daring raid on the Ute horse herd. On that occasion, a bullet grazed his cheek. The next day, a Ute arrow glanced off his belt buckle and another ricocheted off the scabbard of his sword. These close calls reinforced Conover's opinion that he was not "born to be killed by an Indian."* PIONEERS AND PROMINENT MEN.

The only pioneer fatality of the campaign occurred in this skirmish. Joseph Higbee, nineteen-year-old son of Isaac Higbee, served in this advance party with Alexander Williams. Young Higbee and a companion sought cover behind a fallen tree. His comrade spied a Ute with rifle aimed in their direction and warned Higbee not to raise his head. The two lay in this cold and perilous position for some time. Higbee became impatient and asked his friend if it might be safe to take a hurried look over the log. His comrade advised him not to show his head. Joseph ignored the warning and raised his head to reconnoiter. The discharge of a Ute rifle shattered the tense silence, and a lead slug broke Higbee's neck, killing him instantly.[90] James Leach felt Higbee's death resulted from "his being careless and venturing almost to where the[y] was secreted."[91] William H. Walker agreed with Leach's assessment. He later wrote, "Bishop Hibgee's son, being rather venturesome, went ahead, and in crawling up through the brush was shot and killed."[92]

Isaac Higbee later said that Joseph had a premonition of his fate. On the day before he was killed, the younger Higbee said he thought some of the settlers would be killed the next day. Amanda McEwan, one of those who heard his words, warned him, "Perhaps it will be you." Joseph Higbee replied, "Well, it might as well be me as anybody."[93]

Not all militiamen reacted as nonchalantly in the face of danger as Joseph Higbee did. Those who broke and ran became the object of ridicule. William Hickman also fought on the west side of the river that morning. Most of the day he lay in the snow within 250 feet of the enemy camp, watching for the opportunity to bring down a Ute. Peter Conover, whose position was nearby, sarcastically inquired of Hickman if one of his men was dead. Hickman took a hurried head count and found that sure enough, one of his men was missing. Conover said he had watched as Hickman and his men crawled close to the Indian position and had seen one man stay about 300 feet behind. When the Indians spied this laggard and fired at him, the man turned and ran. Conover ended his tale with a bit of pioneer humor and hyperbole when he reportedly said, "I called to him to stop, but could not get him to halt, and saw him jump through the fork of a tree twelve feet high, and know he broke his neck before he stopped."[94]

Concerning this occasion, Hickman later wryly commented, "Poor fellow; he luckily escaped, and was as brave a man as I had at the supper table. . . . Such men should be greatly feared, lest they get scared, and sure enough break their necks."[95]

On the east side of the Provo, action in the morning remained about the same as it had been most of the day before. James Leach described the battle conditions and expressed his opinion about the reason for the small number of pioneer casualties:

> We being on the open prarie[,] balls would wistle round our ears like so manney hail stones only agreat deal more severer still the[y] would pass by us not hurting anney you see the lord was our shield and buckler there was in all of the saints four or five wounded . . . there was one young man killed.[96]

In the early afternoon, the battle on the east side escalated, and some of the most notable action of the campaign took place. According to Lieutenant Howland's plan, workmen at Fort Utah tirelessly labored during the previous night and through the morning hours constructing portable barriers that the militiamen referred to as "Howland batteries." The men placed two-inch-thick planks on end and secured them together in the shape of a capital letter "A". Holes were cut in the planks for gunmen to shoot through. The men then covered these batteries with camp blankets and buffalo robes which they hoped would make it more difficult for projectiles to pierce these unique barriers. After placing the batteries on sled runners to make them portable, they camouflaged them with boughs, branches, and other plants to disguise their true nature. After they had completed their work, the colonists hauled these batteries from the fort to Miles Weaver's cabin where Grant made his field headquarters. They arrived on the battleground about 1:00 P.M.

Twelve militiamen manned each battery. They slowly pushed their portable forts toward the Ute stronghold. When the pioneer version of Birnam Wood moved forward, the dusky, distracted inhabitants of Utah Valley's Dunsinane experienced sensations of fright and astonishment.[97] The Utes had never seen anything like this new method of warfare. William H. Walker described their reaction:

> When the Indians saw these batteries gliding over the snow so nicely and moving toward them, and that they could not be checked in their onward

> course by firing rapidly on them, their laughing was turned into howling, as much as to say they were whipped.[98]

Several existing records attest to the effectiveness of these devices. James A. Little, who manned one of the "Howland batteries," thought they worked very well. Only two Indian bullets came through the battery that shielded him. These projectiles were so slowed by the planks, blankets, and robes that they were too spent to do much damage. Consequently, nobody in Little's battery was wounded, but several of the men who were too careless in showing themselves to the Utes had holes through their clothing.[99] Aroet L. Hale, another of the men in one of the batteries, thought that, on a whole, the moveable batteries "don good Survise."[100]

The batteries eventually advanced "to within close rifle range of the Indian cover,"[101] but they failed to enter the Ute camp. The men behind the batteries kept up hot fire into the Ute encampment. In the words of George Mayer, the riflemen "preste them hevy."[102] James A. Little recalled that, "Whenever an Indian exposed any part of his person, which was generally indicated by the appearance of a dark spot above the snow a bullet or two was sent to feel after him."[103]

While the Utes were preoccupied with the heavy fire from the batteries and Edmund Ellsworth's bushwhackers on the west side of the river, Captain Grant deemed it an advantageous time for a cavalry charge on the Bean cabin, which the Utes had recently vacated.[104] If the militia gained control of the cabin, they could fire into the village from a distance of only 100 to 150 feet. Grant chose Lieutenants William H. Kimball and James Ferguson to lead the 1st Platoon in the charge. About sixteen members of the Mounted Rangers participated in what may have been the most daring maneuver of the campaign.[105]

Kimball moved his men upstream some distance from the river until they reached a point near the double log cabin. When the structure lay between them and the river, Kimball ordered his men to face left and charge to the rear of the building. Because the

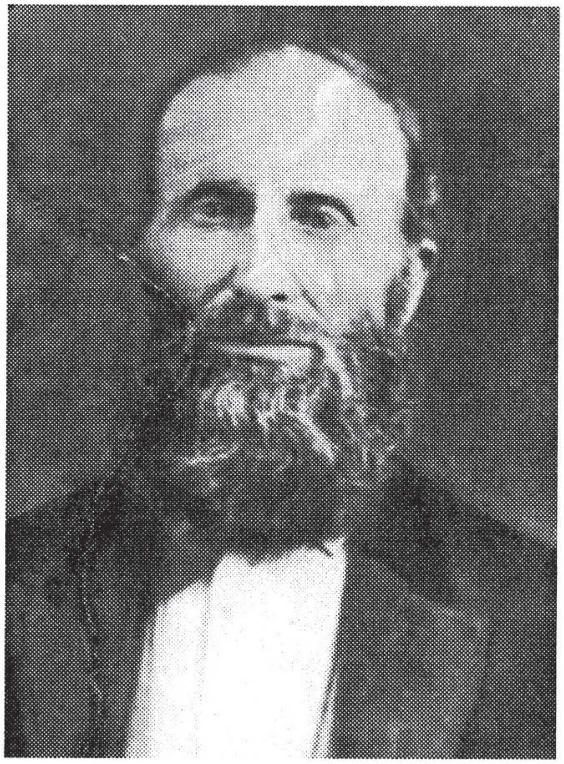

FIGURE 57

Aroet L. Hale witnessed two days of action on the east side of Provo River. *During the first day, Hale served as an artilleryman. On the second day, he fought behind one of the two "Howland" batteries and thought they "don good Survise."* COURESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

door in the front of the cabin faced the river and the Indian fortifications, charging the front of the cabin would have left the cavalrymen open to more extensive fire from their Indian foes. The horsemen dashed through a small ravine, a former river channel. This hid them momentarily from Indian view. They emerged upon a flat stretch of land just a few rods from the cabin. As the troops crossed a small slough, the Utes opened fire from behind the river bank. One shot grazed Isham Flynn's neck, and several horses were also hit. Eventually, more than half of the charging cavalrymen's animals were killed or wounded. At this point, the onslaught almost stalled, but several men courageously swept onward and into the cabin.

Robert T. Burton, who was the company bugler, and Lot Smith reached the cabin first. As bullets whizzed past them, the two urged their horses around the front of the cabin and into the breezeway that connected the structure's two sections. The two entered the building and returned the fire of the Indians by shooting through the cracks between the unchinked logs. John R. Murdock soon joined the two. Just as he reached the cabin, a slug penetrated the neck of his horse. Murdock managed to dismount and was standing near his horse when a ball missed his head by a few inches. At that point, he rapidly crawled into the cabin.[106] The rest of the platoon momentarily took refuge behind the captured building. Then William Kimball, Ephraim Hanks, and a few of the others darted around the corner of the cabin and through the doorway. The rest of the men prudently crouched for a while longer behind the unfinished building.

Captain Grant ordered ten men who manned the nearby cannon to act as infantry and provide support for Kimball's cavalry.[107] These men took with them an ax and a saw with which to cut an opening through the back of the cabin. Jabez Nowlin and a few others did not wait for the hole to be cut but slipped around the front corner and headed toward the breezeway. A ball struck Nowlin across the nose and cheek just as he rounded the corner. Abner Blackburn, a member of the militia at Fort Utah, said of this incident:

> One of our men had a verry large nose. His wife [Amanda Thomas Nowlin] told him in the morning if he was shot it would be in his nose. And sure enough he was, while charging a strong position held by the Indians. The bullet hit on the side of the bridge of his nose, which made a verry painful wound but not dangerous.[108]

From his vantage point in Miles Weaver's unfinished cabin, Captain Grant noticed something wrong at the battle scene when Nowlin was wounded. He sent Hiram B. Clawson on a dangerous ride to see what was needed. Mounting a horse, Clawson dashed off to the cabin and found that Nowlin needed medical assistance. The men in the cabin poured a constant stream of gunfire into the Indian enclosure in an effort to keep the Utes from firing at Clawson as he rode back with his plea for help. Then Clawson courageously galloped back to the cabin with a surgeon, his cousin Stephen Kinsey. On the way, the men dodged the same proverbial bullet, twice. A Ute slug barely missed Clawson's head, piercing Kinsey's hat. Another slug passed close to Clawson and cut through Kinsey's pants. Miraculously, the two arrived at the cabin safely. By this time, the support troops had cut a hole in the back wall of the cabin and scurried inside. For the rest of the day, they fired into the Indian camp from close range.

Lieutenant Howland later described the charge in glowing terms. He exclaimed that the Mounted Rangers "made a grand charge," a charge as fine "as regular cavalry would make."[109] George Mayer summed up the incident in this creative manner:

> The horse Camp commanded by Leutenent Wiliam Kimbel made an atact one a House the Indens had prosen [possession?] ande gande [gained] the house with the Los of 4 horses that war Shot dad, one or to men Slitly woonded Several ware Shot threw there hats ande there Close.[110]

All afternoon the militia continually barraged the Indian camp from the Bean cabin, the "Howland batteries," and the dense brush on the west side of the river. The Utes found themselves in a very warm place, but they managed to return the fire. James Leach said the Ute women helped by loading rifles for their men.[111] As soon as an Indian discharged his weapon, a woman handed him another loaded musket. The Utes also used a psychological weapon. Leach remembered that "sometimes the indians would yell out their war whoop which seemed to me mor terrefick than all their firing of their guns it seemed so solom and loansum."[112]

The battle raged until after dark. Flashes from guns illuminated the sky. At about 8:00 P.M., the men on the west side of the river received orders to return to the fort. Those on the east side remained about an hour longer to support the men in the cabin.[113] Fire from the Indian fortification slackened, and after dark when it finally ceased altogether, the remainder of the militiamen returned to the fort.

Available pioneer sources agree that the second evening of battle ended in a different manner than the first. Peter W. Conover recalled that the Utes launched one last weak, short-lived offensive. At first, when the militia retreated toward the fort, the Indians followed. When the militia turned and gave them a volley, the Utes scampered back to their fort and stayed there.[114] In his unmistakable style, George Mayer wrote concerning the end of the second day, "Pourde the fier in on them hevy from every Side and the Indens began to Cry fir quaters but they continued firing on them till night then Returnd to the fort

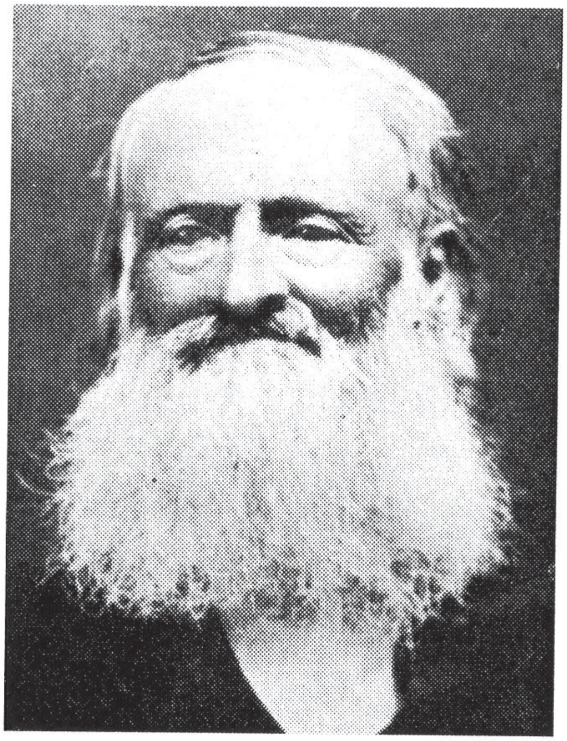

FIGURE 58

George Mayer, of Pennsylvania Dutch descent, acted as the "fireman" on the cannon crew. *On the second day of battle, Mayer witnessed the work of the moveable batteries and saw the cavalry charge that took control of the Bean cabin. His valuable reminiscence briefly covers each phase of the Indian campaign in Utah Valley.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

but the Indens ware quiet and had Sest [ceased] firing."[115] William Hickman later described the scene, "The Indians made a lamentable yell until the bugle sounded a retreat, then all was still. No shouts of victory or Indian yells were heard that evening."[116] That night, after the militiamen had abandoned the Bean cabin, the crestfallen Utes crept to the dead cavalry horses nearby and cut meat from the animals to use as food.[117]

After the Mormons returned to the fort, they retired to their assigned cabins for food and rest. That evening Epsy Jane Williams cooked for the grieving Higbee family. When the leaders tabulated their casualties, they found that Joseph Higbee was the only fatality. At least three men received wounds. Alexander Williams received a ball through the shoulder, a shot grazed Isham Flynn's neck, and a slug hit Jabez Nowlin in the nose and cheek. In addition, the Utes killed three horses and wounded six or seven others. On the Indian side, the troops saw six Utes fall dead.[118]

Shortly before noon on 9 February, Joseph Clark and Miles Weaver arrived in Salt Lake City carrying news of the first day's battle. General Wells read the communication and penned his reply, which Captain Grant very likely did not receive until after the second day's battle was completed. Wells cautioned Grant not to be reckless with the lives of his men. Had Grant received these instructions before the second day of battle, he may not have ordered the daring cavalry charge. Wells suggested the use of moveable batteries to get close to the Ute position.[119] Thanks to Lieutenant Howland's earlier advice, the militia was one step ahead of Wells in this area. As to the fate of the Utes, Wells wrote:

> Take no hostile Indians as Prisoners. Those friendly, and sue for peace, take them under Guard and place them in the fort, Well guarded, and at no time leave the Fort unprotected.
>
> Keep a vigilant watch upon the Indians, and let none escape, but do the

> work up clean, as you have commenced and are engaged in it.[120]

General Wells devoted most of the rest of the letter to information relating to animals and supplies. He suggested that if Grant had more horses than he needed, he should keep the best and send the rest back to Salt Lake City. This action would conserve animal feed at the fort. Wells reported that on 9 February he had sent three teams and wagons loaded with corn for the animals in Utah Valley and promised to send more. These wagons would arrive at the Point of the Mountain on the evening of 10 February. Wells ordered Grant to send men to meet these supply wagons at the Point and take the corn to Fort Utah. Grant's men were to drive their weaker animals from Utah Valley to the Point so that the freighters could take them back to Salt Lake City.

The Mormon general ended his letter by reminding Grant to "be vigilant, be careful and preserve the lives of your men,—I should be happy to be with you, but duty requires my presence here."[121] The last line of Wells' letter seems to indicate that he had been previously asked to come to the battlefield, but there is no existing written evidence to substantiate this.

After the second day of battle on 9 February, Howland sat down to write General Wells an account of that day's action. He reported the success of the cavalry charge and the good service of the moveable batteries. In his judgement, the militia had fought very hard, but in spite of this, they failed once again to route the Utes. Howland reported the number of Mormon casualties and assured the general that the officers intended to try to overwhelm the Utes the next day by force or strategy.[122]

Then Lieutenant Howland dropped a bit of unsettling news about the behavior of a number of the people of Fort Utah and the sagging morale of the Salt Lake Valley troops. Howland wrote:

> Some of the inhabitants of the Fort feel as if they should leave or abandon the place altogether were the Command to be withdrawn with-out routing the enemy — and Some do not seem to Care whether they are routed or not, as they are going to the Gold mines in the spring. `They never had any trouble with the indians and do not intend to.'
>
> Our men from the City are very much discouraged on account of the manner Some of the inhabitants of the Fort act, it seems to put a damper on their Courage and patriotism. It would have been far better for them to have gone and encamped close by the indians, than to have gone to the Fort and heard such remarks as 'I had sooner the indians should have my Cattle than kill them for you to eat' and 'I want them to go to California with.' Such remarks as these are not Calculated to inspire our men at all.[123]

Clearly, things were not running smoothly at Fort Utah. Captain Grant realized that it would take one with higher authority than he possessed to deal with the problem. To remedy this situation, Howland wrote, "I am directed to State for Capt Grant that he would like to have you come to the Fort."[124] Late that night couriers started the slow, laborious trip to Salt Lake City with the letter.

Apparently, Grant had not planned much action for the next day, Sunday, 10 February.[125] As the light of dawn illuminated the scene, an uneasy silence loomed over the battlefield. A few militia officers and one of the Utes that Captain Conover had brought into the fort for safety before the second day of battle left the fort to reconnoiter the Ute village. They scouted through the skirt of timber surrounding the encampment and found, much to their satisfaction, that after two days of courageous resistance, the outnumbered Utes had fled their fortification. For two days "they had fought like devils, wounded or not, dying without a murmur & refusing all offers to surrender—giving & taking no quarter,"[126] but now they were gone. Mercifully, the Battle of Provo River was over.

Mormon accounts enumerating the casualties left behind in the deserted village vary and even contradict each other. Several say dead and wounded Utes littered the ground inside the village. For instance, Zodac K. Judd recalled, "There had been some fifteen or twenty of them killed and left on the ground."[127] Peter W. Conover stated that the Indians "left their dead and wounded lying on the snow in every direction."[128] Years later William Hickman claimed, "The dead and wounded lay thick." He also stated that after the camp was explored, everything was burned.[129] Other accounts minimize the number of Indian casualties. James Leach wrote, "The[y] found afew of the indians killed."[130] James A. Little, whose information is usually fairly reliable, remembered, "Several of their dead were on the ground and it was supposed that they had thrown a number of their dead into the river."[131]

Lieutenant John W. Gunnison likely provides the most dependable information. He journalized within days of receiving news from Lieutenant George W. Howland, "In the deserted camp were three males & three females dead and one old Squaw in one part of the camp & a pappoose in another."[132] Some of the Utes who were wounded likely died later from their injuries and from exposure to the frigid weather.

In spite of the fact that the militia peppered the Ute camp with leaden balls of various sizes for two days, and the Indians obligingly returned the fire with muskets and bows and arrows, there were fewer Ute and militia casualties than one would expect during this intense, two-day battle. There are several reasons for the low number of casualties on both sides. By modern standards, most of the weapons used were inaccurate. Crude gun sights made aiming imprecise and various qualities and quantities of gun powder changed the velocity of the ball. Also, a brief amount of time passed between the pulling of the trigger and the firing of the projectile. The smallest movement during this delay adversely affected the shooter's aim. Even if the aim were perfect, the accuracy of the smooth-bore flintlock or percussion cap muskets commonly used in Utah in the 1850s left something to be desired. Shots fired fifty yards away from a target and aimed at exactly the same spot could hit anywhere within an eighteen-inch diameter. The circle of accuracy grew to three or four feet when the shots were fired from 100 yards. Early rifled weapons, which were rarely used in Utah during this time period, struck with more accuracy. Shots fired from 100 yards could strike anywhere within an eight-inch circle. Shots from 200 yards would stay within the bounds of a man-sized target.[133]

The inaccuracy of the weapons provided only one of the several hindrances to good shooting that day. Excitement probably gave some men "buck fever" and caused them to shake, and the cold likely made many men on both sides quiver. Twigs and branches in the thick brush deflected missiles from their targets. Prudent men exposed themselves to enemy fire as briefly as possible so men had to get off their shots rapidly and did not usually have much time to aim precisely. These and other similar factors contributed to the low number of casualties during the Battle of Provo River.

This engagement was unique in a number of other ways also. The element of surprise enabled the militia to surround and attack a stationary, fortified Indian village and lay siege to it. Very seldom did an armed force of settlers in Utah receive the opportunity to fight a pitched battle with the Utes, for the Indians soon found that this was not the most advantageous way to conduct hostilities with the colonists. Superior numbers and better weapons favored the settlers' chances of success in a battle of this type. The Utes found from their disastrous encounter at Provo River that guerrilla warfare offered them a much better chance of success. These were the tactics that they resorted to in future clashes.

Stationary warfare gave the militia the opportunity to use weapons and tactics that they rarely got the occasion to use against Indians in Utah. The settlers had earlier effectively employed cannons as psychological weapons. The loud report of a big gun terrified many Utes who were unfamiliar with these weapons. However, the militia was not able to use the cannon to great advantage during the Battle of Provo River due to poor marksmanship, the log fortifications thrown up by the Utes, the thick growth of trees and brush on the battleground, and the location of the Ute village under a river bank.

Never again in Utah's history did the militia use portable batteries against the Indians. The batteries proved to be a more effective weapon than the cannon. They enabled riflemen to get within close range of the Indian camp, and the warriors began to doubt the invincibility of their location. Both the cannon and the portable batteries were perfectly useless against the guerrilla tactics later used by the Utes.

When the Battle of Provo River ended after two days of pitched warfare, the power of the Utes in Utah Valley was diminished and they were on the run, but the militia had not succeeded in completely crushing them. When the Utes broke camp and scattered, the militia relentlessly pursued them.

Endnotes

1. Major General Daniel H. Wells, Special Order #2 to Captain George D. Grant, 31 January 1850, Utah Territorial Militia Records, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as UTMR).

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Historian's Office Journal, 1 February 1850, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

5. John W. Gunnison, Field Journal, February 1850, as quoted in Brigham D. Madsen, ed., *Exploring Great Salt Lake: The Stansbury Expedition of 1849–50* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund and University of Utah Press, 1989), 257 (hereafter cited as Gunnison, Field Journal).

6. Historian's Office Journal, 1 February 1850.

7. Howard Stansbury, *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1855), 149.

8. Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Third General Epistle of the Presidency to Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Millennial Star* 12 (15 August 1850): 243.

9. Alexander Neibaur, Journal, 1 February 1850, LDS Church Archives.

10. Joseph Grafton Hovey, Journal, 1 February 1850, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

11. Historian's Office Journal, 2 February 1850.

12. Historian's Office Journal, 3 February 1850; Hosea Stout, Diary, 4 February 1850 and fn 28, as quoted in Hosea Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout 1844–61,* 2 vols., ed. Juanita Brooks (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 2:361 (hereafter cited as Stout, Diary).

13. James Amasy Little, "Life of James Amasy Little," 18, typescript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as USHS).

14. James Leach, Reminiscences and Diary, npn, LDS Church Archives. Leach's diary begins directly after his reminiscence, and the date of the first entry is 23 February 1857. This indicates that the reminiscence was written only seven years after the Utah Valley Campaign. Leach's reminiscence tells something about militia action during almost every day of the campaign. Since only a few years elapsed between the campaign and his recording of it, Leach's memory of the events should have been fairly accurate. He gives an invaluable personal account of most of the battles and skirmishes.

15. William H. Walker to Editor, 7 July 1897, in *Deseret News Weekly*, 17 July 1897.

16. Ibid.

17. Howard Stansbury to Brigham Young, 4 February 1850, Brigham Young Office Files, LDS Church Archives.

18. Daniel H. Wells to the United States Secretary of War, February 1850, UTMR.

19. Patty Sessions, Journal, 1 February, 3 March, 30 August 1850, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

20. J.M. Livingston to Brigham Young, 5 February 1850, Brigham Young Office Files.

21. Joseph Grafton Hovey, Journal, 10 February 1850.

22. John Scott to Elijah Thomas, 4 February 1850, State of Deseret Papers, LDS Church Archives.

23. Historian's Office Journal, 4 February 1850.

24. Stout, Diary, 4 February 1850 and fn 28.

25. bid.

26. Ibid.

27. George D. Grant, Court Martial Charges against Colonel John Scott, 2 March 1850, Nauvoo Legion Papers, Utah Valley Regional Family History Center, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Family History Library).

28. Stout, Diary, 7 March 1850 and fn 32.

29. Daniel H. Wells, Special Orders # 7 to Captain George D. Grant, 4 February 1850, UTMR; Report of Expedition Against Indians in Utah Valley Feb. 1850, 4 February 1850, Brigham Young Office Files. This report was written 20 February 1850. The author is unknown. The document covers the militia's preparations, their journey to Fort Utah, the first day of battle, and part of the second day of battle. The rest is missing.

30. George W. Howland to Daniel H. Wells, 5 February 1850, UTMR; Report of Expedition Against Indians, 5 February 1850.

31. Ibid.

32. Historian's Office Journal, 5 February 1850.

33. Ibid., 6 February 1850; Report of Expedition Against Indians, 6 February 1850.

34. Lorenzo Brown, Reminiscences and Diaries of Lorenzo Brown, 7 February 1850, typescript, LDS Church Archives; Report of Expedition Against Indians, 7 February 1850.

35. Little, "Life of James Amasy Little," 17–18.

36. Ibid.

37. Report of Expedition Against Indians, 7 February 1850.

38. Little, "Life of James Amasy Little," 18.

39. William Hickman and J.H. Beadle, *Brigham's Destroying Angel: Being The Life, Confession, and Startling Disclosures of the Notorious Bill Hickman, The Danite Chief of Utah* (New York: George A. Crofutt, 1872), 58. At the time of the battle,

Hickman was a Mormon, but he later left that church, and with the help of J.H. Beadle, he co-authored this book which was meant to be an exposé of Mormonism. Hickman's account is slanted to that end, and he exaggerates and glorifies his role in the Indian encounters in Utah Valley. However, the basic information he gives about the 1850 Mormon campaign against the Utah Valley Utes seems to mesh fairly well with accounts given by others.

40. Sixteen years after the fight, Isaac Higbee stated that the two-day battle took place "near where the bridge now is on the Provo river." Isaac Higbee to George A. Smith, 27 May 1866, in *Deseret News*, 7 June 1866. The bridge that Higbee mentioned would have likely been near where the current bridge on Columbia Lane crosses Provo River near the Provo City Fire Station. The battleground would have probably been a block or two east of the bridge. James Bean's double log cabin, which was occupied by the Indians, is said to have been built near the Provo River at about what would now be the north end of Fourth West.

41. Walker to Editor, 7 July 1897.

42. Little, "Life of James Amasy Little," 18.

43. Flora Diana Bean Horne, comp., *Autobiography of George Washington Bean, a Utah Pioneer of 1847 and His Family Records* (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1945), 62.

44. Aroet L. Hale, Journal, 23, typescript, USHS.

45. Edward W. Tullidge, "History of Provo City," *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* 3 (July 1884): 237.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., 238.

48. Appleton Milo Harmon, Reminiscences, as quoted in Maybelle Harmon Anderson, ed., *Appleton Milo Harmon Goes West* (Berkeley, California: Gillick Press, 1946), 55.

49. Walker to Editor, 7 July 1897.

50. Leach, "Reminiscences and Diary," npn.

51. Tullidge, "History of Provo City," 238.

52. Thomas J. Orr Jr., Autobiography, as quoted in Thomas J. Orr Jr., *Life History of Thomas J. Orr Jr: Pioneer Stories of California and Utah,* ed. Lillie Jane Orr Taylor (published by author, 1930), 18.

53. Leach, Reminiscences and Diary, npn.

54. George Mayer, Reminiscences and Diary, 31, LDS Church Archives.

55. Report of Expedition Against the Indians, 8 February 1850.

56. Walker to Editor, 7 July 1897.

57. Hale, Journal, 23.

58. Tullidge, "History of Provo City," 239.

59. Ibid.

60. Peter W. Conover, Journal, 2, typescript, USHS.

61. Robert T. Thomas, "The Autobiography of Robert T. Thomas as Dictated to His Son William Thomas in 1888 and Found in an Historical Sketch and Genealogy of the Thomas Families, 1888–1895," 56, LDS Church Archives.

62. Conover, Journal, 2.

63. J. Marinus Jensen, "Peter Cownover Gives a Sketch of His Eventful Life," *Provo Daily Enquirer*, 26 March 1891, 4.

64. Ibid.

65. Tullidge, "History of Provo City," 238.

66. Harrison Sperry, Sr., "A Short History of the Life of Harrison Sperry Sr.," 8, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

67. Thomas, "The Autobiography of Robert T. Thomas," 58.

68. Joseph Harker, Reminiscences and Journal, 44, LDS Church Archives.

69. Zodac Knapp Judd, "Autobiography of Zodac Knapp Judd," 31, LDS Church Archives.

70. Henson Walker, "First of Battle," *Provo Daily Enquirer*, 21 August 1896, 1.

71. John Hudson to father, 2 April 1850, as quoted in Brigham D. Madsen, ed., *A Forty-niner in Utah: Letters and Journal of John Hudson 1848–50* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund and University of Utah Library, 1981), 78–79.

72. William C. Lewis, "Some Living Pioneers," *Salt Lake Herald*, 8 May 1897, 8.

73. Report of Expedition Against Indians, 8 February 1850.

74. Conover, Journal, 2.

75. Report of Expedition Against Indians, 8 February 1850.

76. Hickman and Beadle, *Brigham's Destroying Angel*, 60.

77. Epsy Jane Williams Pace, "Autobiography of Epsy Jane Williams Pace," 2, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

78. Horace R. Wertz, Map of the Eastern Part of the Great Basin of Utah Showing the Location of the Indian Tribes in Relation to the Settlements of the Mormons, copy by Louis Scholl in 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs 1824–1881, BYU Family History Library. The map shows four bands of Utes living in Utah Valley: the Timp-pan-ode band on Utah Lake as far south as Provo; the Tim-pan-up band living between Hobble Creek and Peteetneet Creek [Payson]; the Pe-Kap-oy-na-re band living between Hobble Creek and Peteetneet Creek; and the A-vich-a-ba band living near Summit Creek.

79. Tullidge, "History of Provo City," 237.

80. George W. Howland to Daniel H. Wells, 8 February 1850, UTMR; Little, "Life of James Amasy Little," 19.

81. Howland to Wells, 8 February 1850; Stout, Diary, 8–9 February 1850; Pace, "Autobiography of Epsy Jane Williams Pace," 2; Tullidge, "History of Provo City," 240.

82. Howland to Wells, 8 February 1850.

83. Tullidge, "History of Provo City," 237.

84. Hale, Journal, 23–24; Little, "Life of James Amasy Little," 19; Tullidge, "History of Provo City," 238.

85. Daniel H. Wells to John Brown, 9 February 1850, UTMR.

86. Tullidge, "History of Provo City," 239.

87. Conover, Journal, 2.

88. Ibid.

89. Pace, "Autobiography of Epsy Jane Williams Pace," 1; George W. Howland to Daniel H. Wells, 9 February 1850, UTMR.

90. J. Marinus Jensen, *History of Provo, Utah* (Provo, Utah: privately published, 1924), 54.

91. Leach, Reminiscences and Diary, npn.

92. Walker to Editor, 7 July 1897.

93. Higbee to Smith, 27 May 1866.

94. Hickman and Beadle, *Brigham's Destroying Angel*, 62.

95. Ibid.

96. Leach, Reminiscences and Diary, npn.

97. Conover, Journal, 2; Daniel H. Wells, "Narrative of Daniel H. Wells," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 6 (October 1933): 125; Tullidge, "History of Provo City," 238.

98. Walker to Editor, 7 July 1897.

99. Little, "Life of James Amasy Little," 19.

100. Hale, Journal, 23.

101. Little, "Life of James Amasy Little," 19.

102. George Mayer, Reminiscences and Diary, 32, LDS Church Archives.

103. Little, "Life of James Amasy Little," 19.

104. Report of Expedition Against Indians, 9 February 1850.

105. Orson F. Whitney identifies eleven of the men involved in the charge: William Kimball, Isham Flynn, Henry Johnson, Barney Ward, Orson K. Whitney, A.J. Pendleton, Ephraim K. Hanks, John R. Murdock, James Ferguson, Lot Smith, and Robert T. Burton. Unless otherwise cited, the account of the cavalry charge is based on the following sources: Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1892), 1:427–29; Tullidge, "History of Provo City," 238–39; Little, "Life of James Amasy Little," 19.

106. J.W. Tanner, *A Biographical Sketch of John Riggs Murdock* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), 104–5.

107. Report of Expedition Against the Indians, 9 February 1850.

108. Abner Blackburn, Narrative, as quoted in Abner Blackburn, *Frontiersman: Abner Blackburn's Narrative*, ed. Will Bagley (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992) 170.

109. Howland to Wells, 9 February 1850; Tullidge, "History of Provo City," 238.

110. Mayer, Reminiscences and Diary, 32.

111. Leach, Reminiscences and Diary, npn.

112. Ibid.

113. Tullidge, "History of Provo City," 239.

114. Conover, Journal, 2.

115. Mayer, Reminiscences and Diary, 32–33.

116. Hickman and Beadle, *Brigham's Destroying Angel*, 62–63.

117. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 1:429.

118. Howland to Wells, 9 February 1850.

119. Daniel H. Wells to George D. Grant, 9 February 1850, UTMR.

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid.

122. Howland to Wells, 9 February 1850.

123. Ibid.

124. Ibid.

125. Historian's Office Journal, 11 February 1850.

126. F.R. Grist to his mother, 15 February 1850, Elizabeth Washington Grist Knox Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Grist was a member of Captain Howard Stansbury's crew.

127. Zodac Knapp Judd, "Autobiography of Zodac Knapp Judd," 31, LDS Church Archives.

128. Conover, Journal, 2–3.

129. Hickman and Beadle, *Brigham's Destroying Angel*, 63.

130. Leach, Reminiscences and Diary, npn.

131. Little, "Life of James Amasy Little," 20.

132. Gunnison, Field Journal, 10 February 1850.

133. Harry William Gibson, "Arms and Armaments on the Mormon Frontier 1831–1869" (master's thesis, University of Utah, 1972), 45–46, USHS.

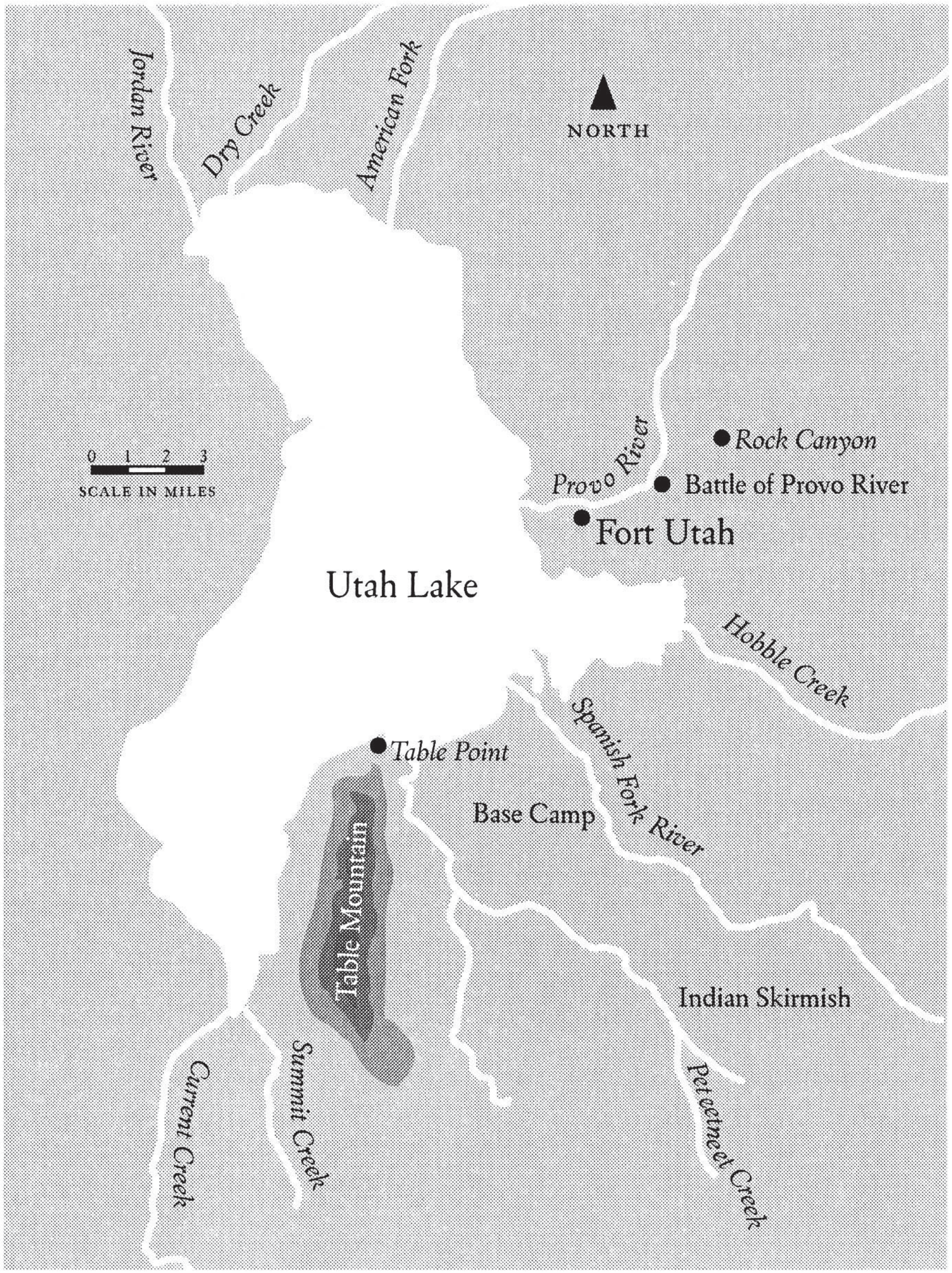
Jordan River
Dry Creek
American Fork
NORTH
Rock Canyon
Provo River
Battle of Provo River
Fort Utah
0 1 2 3
SCALE IN MILES
Utah Lake
Hobble Creek
Spanish Fork River
Table Point
Base Camp
Table Mountain
Indian Skirmish
Current Creek
Summit Creek
Peteetneet Creek

FIGURE 59

Sites of other Indian skirmishes in the Utah Valley Campaign. *After the Battle of Provo River, the Utes split into two main groups. A small number of Indians fled into Rock Canyon where they were held in check by a detachment of infantry who sealed off the canyon's mouth until troops could engage the Utes. Some of these Indians were later killed, but many of them traveled to the head of the Rock Canyon and escaped over the divide and down into Provo Canyon. General Wells pursued a larger number of Utes into the southern part of Utah Valley. He established his supply camp on the Spanish Fork River. From this camp, militiamen marched to Table Mountain (West Mountain) and Peteetneet Creek (Payson) where they vanquished the Utes.*

CHAPTER 10

"We Shall Deal With Them In a Most Summary Manner"

LATE IN THE MORNING ON 10 FEBRUARY, A MEETING OF Mormon leaders began in Brigham Young's house in Salt Lake City. Shortly after the council commenced, messengers from Utah Valley arrived at the house with a letter written by Lieutenant George W. Howland. The couriers had left Fort Utah before the militia discovered that the Utes had fled their fortified camp, but Howland's missive brought news of the second day of battle and intelligence concerning the attitude of some of the settlers at the fort. President Young and General Daniel H. Wells stepped into an adjoining room to read the news. As the two Mormon leaders reentered the meeting, those gathered in the room expectantly awaited news from the battlefield.

President Young began by reporting the sad news that three militiamen had been wounded, and Joseph Higbee had been killed. Young followed that announcement with additional disturbing news. He related the ingratitude and dissention shown by some of the citizens of Fort Utah. The veins must have stood out on Young's forehead when he said, according to the meeting's minutes:

> Those who [h]av[e] traded guns [and] powder say they [h]ad rat[he]r. the Indians eat their cattle than the S[ain]ts. from this Valley—I [h]av[e] sent word to confiscate all their property—[and] then put them in the front of the battle [and] kill them—if men [h]ad taken a discreet course there—they wo[ul]d. not [h]av[e] been any trouble—I [h]av[e] told them the cause of their difficulties—shooting with the Indians, gambling, [and] running horses with them—they now turn round [and] say they [h]av[e]

> picked no quarrel—they [are] going to the Gold mines —I am just capacitated to do what [h]as to be done. . . . [Are] we chastised by the Indians for our wickedness—I don't believe it—but to make us more perfect.
>
> Be ye also ready, to fight preach or pray as it is necessary. If those Indians cant be come at—they must either quit the ground or we must—we [h]av[e] to maintain that ground, or vacate this—we were told 3 yrs ago—if we dont kill those Lake Utes, they will kill us—every man told us the same—they all bore testimony the Lake Utes lived by plunder [and] robbing —if we yield in this instance—we have to yield this land. [Chief] Walker advises us to use them up—I am going to keep up a standing army to lick them up—this is the place to begin—Joseph [Smith] prophecied many of the Lamanites will [h]av[e] to be slain, many of them by us —our brethern [a]r[e] better off on the other side of the Vail than this—if the bre[ther]n wake up [and] do right all the gates of hell cant prevail against them.[1]

At the conclusion of this meeting, General Wells made hurried preparations and left for Utah Valley with instructions "not to leave that Valley until every Indian was out."[2] At the Point of the Mountain, he met messengers from Fort Utah carrying the latest news to Salt Lake City. Undoubtedly, the couriers shared their information with Wells before they moved onward. A snowstorm made traveling slow and miserable for both parties. When Wells finally arrived at the fort at 3:00 A.M. on what was his first trip to Utah Valley, he was cold and tired. The trip took fifteen hours.[3]

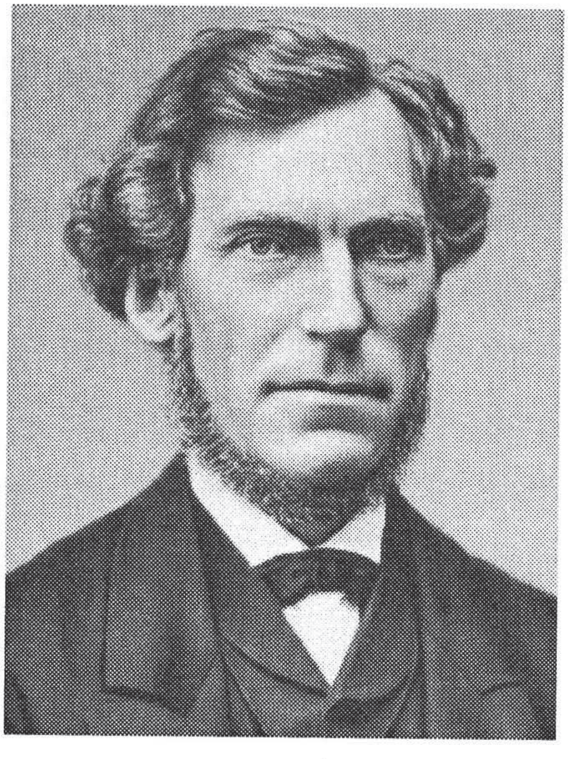

FIGURE 60

Major General Daniel H. Wells commanded the Utah militia. *After two days of battle near the Provo River, Wells received a request from Captain George D. Grant to come to Utah Valley and take personal control of the troops. Wells left Salt Lake City with instructions from Brigham Young not to leave Utah Valley "until every Indian was out."* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

After a brief rest to recover from his arduous journey, Wells sprang into action early on 11 February. First, he placed the inhabitants of the fort under martial law. By taking this action, the general hoped to bring the dissidents back into line. In an effort to provide needed supplies for the militia who came to Fort Utah from Salt Lake Valley, Wells placed all provisions, forage, and teams at the fort under military control.[4] He "seized everything there in the shape of provisions &c to keep the men on."[5] The militia's quartermaster kept track of what the troops used. James A. Little, who was on duty in the fort, reported: "The people of the colony were informed that their substance and themselves so far as was deemed necessary would be used to insure the success of the expedition and they must consider themselves subject to military orders."[6]

Wells' general order also prohibited settlers from leaving the colony without first gaining permission from the proper military authorities. Lieutenant James A. Little and First Sergeant Almon L. Fullmer received orders to take control of the fort. It fell under their jurisdiction to determine who could leave the enclosure. Troops under their control watched over the Indian prisoners and guarded the personal property belonging to the settlers.[7]

In addition to placing the colony under martial law, Wells implemented a two-pronged plan to search out all the Utes left in Utah Valley and destroy them. Captain Grant received orders to capture or kill all Utes who had fled toward Rock and Provo Canyons. General Wells also ordered a small detachment from Captain Lytle's company to proceed to the Spanish Fork River and reconnoiter Indian activities in that area. Lieutenant D.S. Carn assumed command of this force.[8]

On 11 February, Captain Grant took a detachment to the deserted Ute encampment on Provo River and from there followed the trail left by the fleeing Indians. Grant found this a fairly easy task since the Utes left "traces of blood on the ground by which the officers could follow them up besides the[y] could trace them by their foot prints in the snow."[9] The Ute trail led to Rock Canyon. The Indian survivors camped a long distance up the chasm. "A smoke far up the side of the mountain . . . indicated they were there."[10]

Grant and his advisors believed that deep snow and severe cold impeded the Utes from climbing over the divide and descending into Provo Canyon. They thought that the Utes were much more likely to try to sneak out of the mouth of the canyon to retrieve provisions they had previously cached in the valley. To prevent this from happening, Grant assigned ten men to stay and guard the mouth of Rock Canyon. He hoped this would keep these Utes corralled until they could be dealt with later. The rest of the militiamen returned to the fort. They took with them an Indian boy that they had found on the trail leading to Rock Canyon.[11]

Lieutenant D.S. Carn left Fort Utah at 10:30 on the morning of 11 February to spy on the Utes camped near the Spanish Fork River. The snow remained deep until the party came to within about four miles of the Indian camp. Carn and his men sneaked to within rifle range of the Utes, but the Indians detected the militia's presence. About fifty or sixty horses grazed near the village on open land. The

Utes soon drove these animals into the willows and brush to conceal them. After scouting the camp, Carn and his men began their return trip to the fort.[12]

Concerning this occasion, William Hickman, who was a member of this scouting expedition, wrote:

> On our return conversation was about the number of Indians we had seen. Some said thirty, some forty, and some sixty. I was riding with Captain Carus [Lieutenant Carn?], a fine clever old Dutchman [from Pennsylvania]. 'Vell,' said he, 'Villiam, how many do you say we saw?' I told him twelve, for I had counted them; I mention this to show how things multiply to persons when fear and excitement have possession of the inexperienced, such as these.[13]

Lieutenant Carn and his men returned to the fort about 7:15 P.M. that evening, and Carn made the following report to General Wells:

> I Counted about 15 of them Some of them had rifles in their hands. They are in Such a position, that I think they Can be raked very well [with cannon shot], there is not much timber where they are Camped, and nothing but willows, there may be some little ravines. I counted as I said 15 but there are no doubt a great many more.[14]

Wells used this report to plan his future strategy.

Conditions at Fort Utah improved after the arrival of General Wells. The people pulled closer together, and morale rose after Wells declared martial law. The wounded continued to recuperate, and all of them were out of danger now. In spite of these improvements, several problems still existed. The volunteers from Salt Lake Valley had used most of their flour. If the men were to be resupplied before they ran out completely, officers in Salt Lake City would have to send more flour posthaste. The militia was also running low on ammunition. Officers asked for more grapeshot, canisters,[15] powder, and balls. Finally, General Wells found some of the volunteers anxious to return to their families. These militiamen had left Salt Lake Valley suddenly and now felt that they were needed at home.

Lieutenant Howland reported all of this in a letter to Brigham Young. After explaining the current situation and elaborating on the needs of the troops, Howland ended the letter optimistically. He wrote: "We are going to start for them again to-morrow morning and finish the Campaign with another victory if possible, which is a very supposable Case in our opinion."[16] That evening Lieutenant William Kimball left for Salt Lake City with the letter, traveled all night, and delivered it to Brigham Young at about 6:00 A.M. on the morning of 12 February.

After reading the communication, the Mormon president acted rapidly. He ordered a load of wheat taken to the mill to provide flour for Salt Lake Valley's citizen soldiers who were serving in Utah Valley. He also issued a command for powder, grapeshot, and canisters to be sent south as soon as possible, although he was uncertain of the canisters' quality. Young wrote to Wells that the canisters were much bruised and it was "supposed . . . useless; however we shall send some and you can do the best you can with it."[17]

President Young also directed Captain A.L. Lamoreaux to raise twenty or twenty-five men and start for Fort Utah that day. These troops could be used to replace the men who found it necessary to return to Salt Lake Valley. Young reported to General Wells that reinforcements of a different kind expressed a willingness to join the troops:

> It is no uncommon thing to hear the females express an anxious wish to come out and cook your victuals, and try to comfort and cheer your spirits during your arduous labors; and if it would be any advantage to you we could soon send a load to work, and make you comfortable, but we know it is unnecessary.[18]

The leaders in Salt Lake City deemed it beneficial to receive news from the front every day, but Brigham Young considered it too dangerous to send the post at night accompanied by only one or two men. He directed General Wells to send the mail only during the daytime with a sufficient guard to protect it. Young arranged for Captain John Brown to meet the Utah Valley mail at the Point of the Mountain and deliver it from there to Salt Lake City. Sufficient men from Utah Valley were sent to meet the Salt Lake City mail at the Point and deliver it to Fort Utah. Young issued one final instruction to Wells. Realizing that the need for horses for freighting between the two cities was still critical, the Mormon president requested that mail carriers bring all extra horses and wagons from Fort Utah to the Point where Brown and his men could take possession of them and return them to Salt Lake Valley.[19]

When Captain Lamoreaux began to outfit his men for action in Utah Valley, he found out how difficult it was to acquire mounts. Nearly all animals remaining in Salt Lake City were engaged in public service, forcing him to scour the surrounding countryside for animals.[20] Somehow he found the necessary horses and started his men southward, staying at Gardner's Mill that night.[21]

In Utah Valley, the fort bustled with activity on 12 February. The military commander in charge of Fort Utah, Lieutenant James A. Little, called the people together and told them what he expected of them. He found about fifty men and older boys fit for military assignments and established a regular schedule for guard duty. The men followed Little's orders promptly.[22]

General Wells supervised the final preparations of his troops, and 110 officers

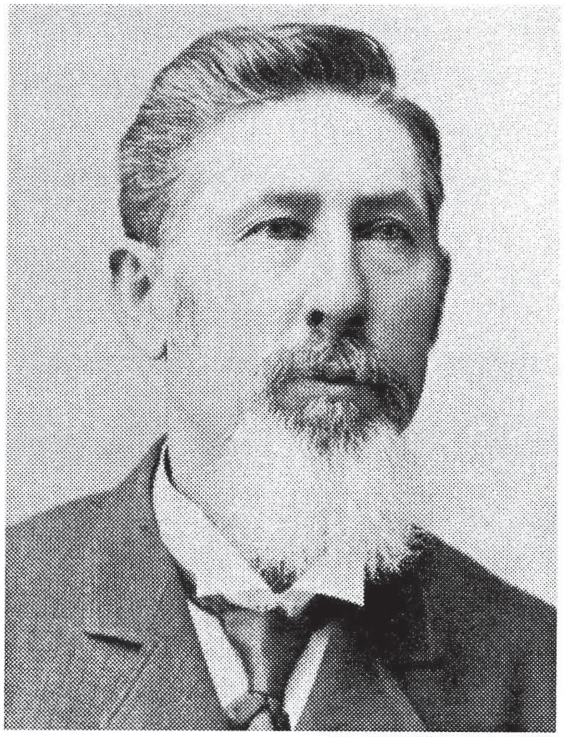

FIGURE 61

Lieutenant James A. Little became the commander of Fort Utah after Major General Daniel H. Wells placed the settlement under martial law. *Little served in the cavalry during the first day of the Battle of Provo River, and on the second day of the conflict, he saw action behind a "Howland" battery. Little wrote a reminiscence that recorded most of the major events of the Utah Valley Campaign.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

and men left for the Ute camp on the Spanish Fork River. When the men arrived at that stream about 3:30 that afternoon, they found that the Indians had fled. The Ute trail led toward Table Mountain (West Mountain) located at the west end of Utah Lake. Wells decided it was too late in the afternoon to follow the Indians. The general intended to camp on Peteetneet Creek (Payson), scout for Indians in that locality, and return to follow the Ute trail to Table Mountain the next day. The men, wagons, and cannon started toward Peteetneet. Along the way, they found that the hard, crusty snow made traveling extremely difficult. Wells soon saw that it would take longer to get to the potential campsite on Peteetneet Creek than he had supposed. He issued orders for his men to return to the Spanish Fork River from which location they could more conveniently travel to Table Mountain the next morning.[23]

The evening of 12 February General Wells sent a message to Lieutenant James A. Little at Fort Utah. This order called for 500 pounds of meat, 400 pounds of bread, forty pounds of coffee, fifty bushels of corn and, if possible, a few bushels of oats. Wells hoped that the people at the fort could bake the bread that night and the next morning. The troops needed it delivered by the evening of 13 February. If the citizens of Fort Utah could not get all the bread baked on that short a notice, Little was to forward the remainder of the flour and some cooking utensils to the troops. Lieutenant Little received General Wells' message about midnight.[24] The busy bakers at the fort must have been covered with flour from the wee morning hours until early the next afternoon.

Often there were not enough provisions at Fort Utah to feed the militiamen or enough grain and fodder for their horses. Many of the militia's supplies came to Utah Valley from Salt Lake City, and furnishing the troops in southern Utah Valley with supplies from Salt Lake City created a logistical nightmare. The cold weather and snow-covered roads made traveling with heavy loads extremely slow and difficult.

For example, on 9 February, Daniel Davis, who had hauled adobes all day, went to General Wells' house in the evening and picked up a load of corn destined to feed cavalry horses in Utah Valley. Davis and five other men made it as far as Cottonwood that night. After traveling all day on 10 February, he and the other teamsters reached Willow Creek in southern Salt Lake Valley where they spent the cold night on the ground. The freighters met wagons from Fort Utah at the Point of the Mountain on 11 February. They transferred their corn to the wagons sent from the fort and began their return trip to Salt Lake City with their empty vehicles.[25] The Utah Valley teamsters then struggled back to Fort Utah where they arrived 12 February. From there, wagon drivers delivered the corn to the militia camp on the Spanish Fork River on 13 February.[26] Militiamen hauled the corn from the river to General Wells at Table Mountain. The load arrived at his camp that night.[27] From origin to destination, it took slightly more than four days to deliver the corn.

The troops who camped on the Spanish Fork River 12 February spent a miserable night trying to keep warm and dry. They lacked shelter and firewood. James Leach's reminiscence provides a firsthand account of that night. Others certainly shared similar hardships. Leach wrote:

> We hunted for wood to make fires so as to keep us warm for it was averry cold night being in the month of february and about afoot and ahalf deep in snow being no wood there onley afew little cottonwood trees made it sever cold for our nights lodging we ate supper having agood supply of beef and bread which made us feel first rate after supper was over there was acall made for some of the company to stand guard it fell my lot to stand guard in the after part of the night so ihad the privilidge of returning to my rest once more for afew hours so itook my bufalo robe and lay down in snow making asuffient hole in the snow to lay my body down in the hole[.][28]

After hours of marathon mixing and baking, the women of Fort Utah supplied Lieutenant Little with the 400 pounds of bread on 13 February. He found four available teams and wagons, had the bread and other supplies requested by Wells loaded into them, and started the food on the trail to the camp on Spanish Fork River.[29] Later the same day, Wells expressed his feelings of appreciation for this food when he wrote in a letter to Brigham Young, "The women [of Fort Utah] very obligingly cook our bread and grind our coffee which is a very great accomodation to us."[30] More supplies were also on the way from Salt Lake City to Fort Utah. Wagons and teams were so scarce that the freighters received instructions to unload the wagons and expeditiously return them and the teams to the city for another load.[31]

Since Lieutenant Little did not want the people of Fort Utah to use the militia's flour, he permitted some of them to leave the fort and drive to the grist mill in Salt Lake Valley to have their wheat ground. None of the settlers made application to leave the fort for any other reason, but some of them were nearly forced to leave their settlement whether they wanted to or not. General Wells and President Young had previously discussed the possibility of evacuating all families from Fort Utah and moving them to Salt Lake City. However, at this point in the conflict, Wells suggested to Young that it would be better to wait and make that decision after the results of the campaign at the south end of the lake were known.[32] Young agreed.

General Wells and the majority of the troops left the camp on the Spanish Fork River on 13 February and followed the Indian trail through deep snow toward Table Mountain. Lieutenant Howland, whom the U.S. Army had lent to the militia, also left the soldier's camp, but he traveled toward Salt Lake City instead of toward Table Mountain. Howland, who had faithfully served as adjutant and technical advisor to the militia, had received orders to report for duty at Fort Hall as soon as possible. Remaining useful until his last days in Utah Valley, Howland carried a letter from Wells to Brigham Young when he left the militia's camp.[33]

As General Wells and his troops neared Table Mountain, the group split. Captain Grant continued westward looking for Utes on the far side of the mountain. Lytle and Wells pushed their way southward along the east side of the range. They intended to reach Peteetneet Creek and search for Utes who might be camped in the brush and willows along that stream. When Lytle's men neared the creek, an express from Grant overtook them. The messengers informed Wells and Lytle that Grant had discovered Indians on the west side of Table Mountain, just around Table Point. Lytle, Wells, and most of the riders turned back, but Lytle ordered men who were riding horses that were almost worn out to continue to Peteetneet where they were to scout for Utes. If they found no Indians, they were to return to the camp on Spanish Fork River.[34]

About a dozen men under the leadership of Robert T. Thomas proceeded toward Peteetneet Creek. After arriving at the stream, these men began searching the brush and willows along that watercourse. They spied a wickiup about 500 feet ahead of them. Thomas sent in his Indian scouts to ascertain the size and strength of the camp. They returned with the news that there were only three Indian men there, one of them blind. The blind man refused to leave, saying to the scouts, "Rustle no[.] go won't[.] stand [,] roost."[35] The two able-bodied warriors possessed one pistol and bows and arrows, but Thomas decided not to bother these men. Instead, he started for the Spanish Fork camp. Delayed by great drifts of snow, they did not arrive until about midnight. The biting cold froze Thomas' feet and took him out of action.[36]

Lieutenant Thomas' decision to leave the small Ute camp unharmed later miffed General Wells. Wells had ordered Thomas to either attack any Utes he found or surround them and make sure they didn't escape. Thomas did neither, and the small Ute encampment's final fate was postponed until another day.[37]

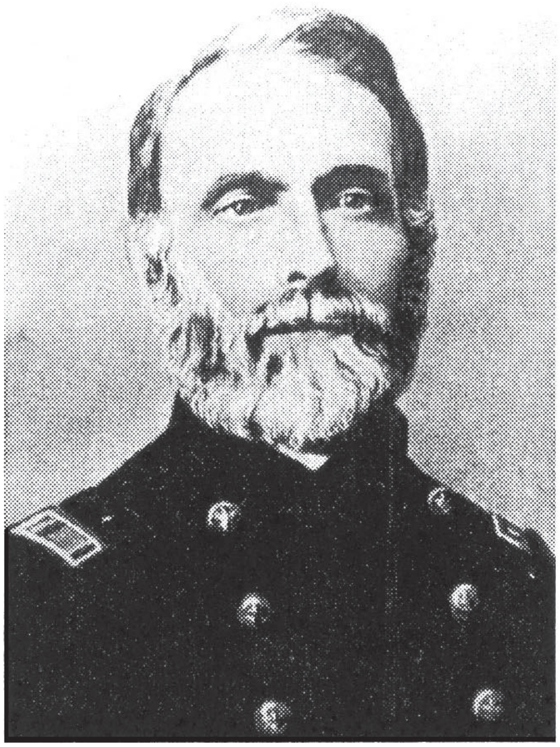

FIGURE 62

Robert T. Thomas came to Fort Utah with the early settlers. *He fought in several engagements with the Utes during the Utah Valley Campaign. On the first day of battle, he served as a sharpshooter on the west side of the Provo River. During the mop up operations in southern Utah Valley, Thomas disregarded his orders and decided not to "exterminate" two warriors and a blind Ute man who were camped on Peteetneet Creek. His decision irritated General Wells.* COURTESY ROBERT T. THOMAS.

After leaving Thomas and his squad, Captain Lytle, General Wells, and the majority of the men retraced their steps northward toward Captain Grant and his command. It was almost dark when they reached Grant, who had camped on the west side of Table Point near a number of Indians. Grant had driven the Utes up the mountain earlier that day and then induced some of them to surrender and come down near his camp. It appears that the Utes came more through fear than anything, but they refused to smoke the pipe of peace and give up their weapons. The officers placed a guard around these Utes, put a double guard around the militia's horses, and then the remainder of the men settled into their makeshift beds for another miserably cold night.

In a letter to Brigham Young, General Wells described conditions in this camp. He wrote, "We are passing a sleepless night on account of keeping a vigilant watch over Indians changing the guard every hour on account of the cold."[38] William Hickman later recalled:

> This was a bitter cold night on the Lake shore—snow on the ground, and the wind blowing a gale . . . and nothing but sage-brush to make fires, and even that was scarce and small. The body of the men camped, or rather stopped below [south], and took turns pulling the brush, which kept them from freezing.
>
> I was placed above [north] on the Lake shore. . . . My orders were to stay until relieved. I walked my post and kept from freezing with much ado.[39]

After darkness enveloped the camp, General Wells received the letter Brigham Young had sent that morning. In an effort to buoy the spirits of the troops, Wells had parts of the letter read to the men. The shivering troops heard these words of encouragement from their leader:

> Be assured we remember the faithful men who are engaged in the public service, by night and by day, and often wish we could be in your midst, to cheer and animate the men, and take part in your perils and honors. It does us good to see the animation and cheerfulness which seems to fill the breasts of those engaged in the conflict, for if we must take the feelings of those who bring your expresses, as a sample of the feelings of the whole we are satisfied that as a general thing a good feeling must prevail amongst you.[40]

These words may have lifted the troops' spirits, but they didn't fill their stomachs. General Wells sent a message calling for supplies to Sergeant Orson Whitney, who was camped on the Spanish Fork River. William H. Walker, who served in the river camp, left the following account of his experiences that night:

> A company of mounted men started in search of the band [of Utes], taking nothing but a little lunch in their pockets, expecting to return at night.
>
> But sometime after dark a messenger arrived saying that they had found the Indians, had them under guard, and wanted provisions and blankets, but no one in camp was willing to take the articles, the night being very dark and cold. I volunteered to go with an assistant. We packed one horse with provisions and blankets and then put all the blankets we could on the horses we rode. We reached our destination all right. That night every man had to take his turn standing guard. It was a bitter cold night and they to stand on a elevation where there was no protection against the cold wind. The cold was so intense they had to be relieved every ten minutes.[41]

Whitney sent all the beef he had on hand, all but thirty pounds of the flour he had in camp, and some coffee. To help feed the animals, he started two wagons loaded with corn toward Table Point.[42]

Wells may have demonstrated a degree of concern for his men, but his feelings toward his Ute captives were even more chilling than the piercing night air. In his return letter to Brigham Young, he foreshadowed his future plans for the prisoners when he wrote, "We shall deal with them in the most summary manner as soon as another day favors us with its light and proceed in quest of other Indians in this direction.[43]

Thursday, 14 February 1850, likely ranks as Utah's darkest St. Valentine's Day. That morning Cupid did not string his bow on Table Point, and few, if any Ute prisoners received the chance to unlimber their bows either. A detailed account of what happened that morning apparently does not exist. Years later Wells pinpointed the location of the action but only briefly and generally described the incident in very guarded language. He stated, "We encountered the Indians near the north end of the west side of the mountain, east of the south end of Utah Lake, and completely defeated them."[44] Abner Blackburn simply wrote, "We followed them up and at the south end of Utah Lake demolished them on the edge of the ice."[45]

Apparently the militia spared the women and children. The only known written notification of the incident that General Wells sent to Brigham Young was a brief postscript he added to the bottom of the letter he had written the night of 13 February. This postscript reads:

> P.S. Thursday 14 please to make some suggestion in relation to the disposal of some 15 or 20 Squaws and children who probably belonged to some 11 warriors who met their fate in a small skirmish this morning.[46]

Wells left no explicit paper trail of what actually happened. He must have relied on his couriers, Edmund Ellsworth and James A. Little, to inform Brigham Young of the details orally, or, possibly, no precise information at all was passed on.

However, several brief sketches fill in some details and show that the Ute captives were, indeed, dispatched without delay or ceremony. Lieutenant John W. Gunnison received news of what happened from a participant in the affair. Gunnison left two short summaries of the event. In his journal, he wrote on 20 February:

> Lt. [James] Ferguson says that the party surprised on Table [Mountain] would not give up their arms or smoke the pipe of peace—that some came in voluntarily . . . These were taken about dark & kept under guard till morning, & forcibly disarmed—some tried to run off & were shot— the rest *were also shot.*[47]

Later, when Gunnison wrote his book about his experiences with the Mormons, he summarized the affair again. This time he wrote:

> A party was driven up Table Mountain, but were induced to come down and surrender. They were guarded in camp until morning, and then ordered to give up their weapons. They refused to do this, and acting in a sullen and hostile manner, were fired upon and nearly all killed immediately. A few broke through the line of sentinels and endeavored to escaped by crossing the lake on the ice, but were chased down by horsemen and 'ceased to breath.' My informant was an actor in the terrible scene, and seemed disposed to paint it in as soft colors as possible.[48]

Propitiously, several militiamen also left accounts of the massacre. George

Mayer summarized the affair very concisely:

> We then tooke parte of the Campe and wente to the other Side of the Lake and there founde a Small Campe of Indens but the[y] Rone [run] of[f] but the[y] Cesht [chased] the moste of them before the[y] got oute of the way and Shot the men and toake the Children prseners and Returnd to the forte[49]

James Leach, who was present at the Point, penned an interesting version of how he understood the massacre began and ended:

> Bro wells had not been out with his company over three hours before he came wending his way down of[f] the mountains with eleven indians soon as he dismounted from his horse the indians got hold of him and insircled themselves around him learning that he was the chief he said brethren taake them from me and shoot them right down which the[y] did[50]

Apparently not many, if any, Utes received the opportunity to defend themselves.

After spending the night of 13 February trying to keep from freezing while he was on guard duty, William Hickman prepared for what might happen in the morning. Painting himself in heroic colors, his reminiscent account provides an idea of what happened outside the main sphere of action:

> I ran up on the beach in order to give me a fair view of what was or would be going on. Firing commenced, and I saw an Indian coming towards me unnoticed by the company. I got behind a bush and waited until he was within eight feet of me, when I shot him dead, ran for the battle, and saw an Indian start on the ice. I ran him some three or four hundred yards, got within fifty steps of him and downed him, returned, and the battle was ended. Fourteen Indians lay almost in a pile. Some twenty odd were killed in all.[51]

After the shooting was over, only one militiaman, Edmund Ellsworth, had suffered a wound. His "arm was slightly injured in consequence of a double discharge of his 6 shooting Rifle."[52]

James Leach remembered a poignant incident that occurred shortly after the Indian men were shot down in and around the militia camp at Table Point. Leach wrote:

> So after alittle while averry old indian came down from of[f] the mountains right to the camp where we was he said shoot me down for iwant to be with my brethren after the[y] was all shot down we had alittle more rest for we felt wore out almost[53]

Leach's assertion that the Indians were "all shot down," and the fact that no male prisoners were taken that day, suggest that the militia granted the old man's wish.

In an interview with Lieutenant Gunnison, James Ferguson substantiated Leach's story that the old Indian had come into the militia's camp. Ferguson told Gunnison that "one warrior was warned not to come to camp by others but . . . said that was his land & he would . . . die there."[54]

Later that morning, General Wells ordered Captain Lytle and Lieutenant Ferguson to lead a reconnoitering party on horseback in search of more Utes. They proceeded only a short distance before finding five mounted Indians on the edge of the ice. It appeared to the militia that the Utes were spies.[55] The Utes fled, and the mounted militiamen gave chase over lake ice two feet thick which was covered by a layer of snow. According to William Hickman, only three or four of Lytle's men had horses fast enough to catch the Utes. As the cavalrymen dashed across the ice, they shot at the Utes. The Indians returned their fire with rifles and when within closer range, with bows and arrows.

When this skirmish near Table Point had ended, the militia had killed three Utes and wounded another. One unlucky Ute's rifle broke when his horse fell. He futilely tried to fire it at Lot Smith and William Hickman. The two troopers put six or eight slugs into the determined Ute before he fell. A wounded Ute started across the bench and toward the mountain. Hickman says he dismounted, took sure aim, fired, and downed the fleeing Indian.[56] One fortunate Indian escaped to Table Mountain unharmed. The victors also captured several Ute horses. All other attempts to locate Indians in the vicinity of Table Mountain that day failed.[57]

The number of Ute casualties remains uncertain. Apparently the troops did not make an exact body count. James Leach said that eleven Ute men came down off the mountain with General Wells, and he mentioned one older Indian who came down later and was apparently killed.[58] Many people in Salt Lake City, including Lieutenant John W. Gunnison and Hosea Stout, received the news that

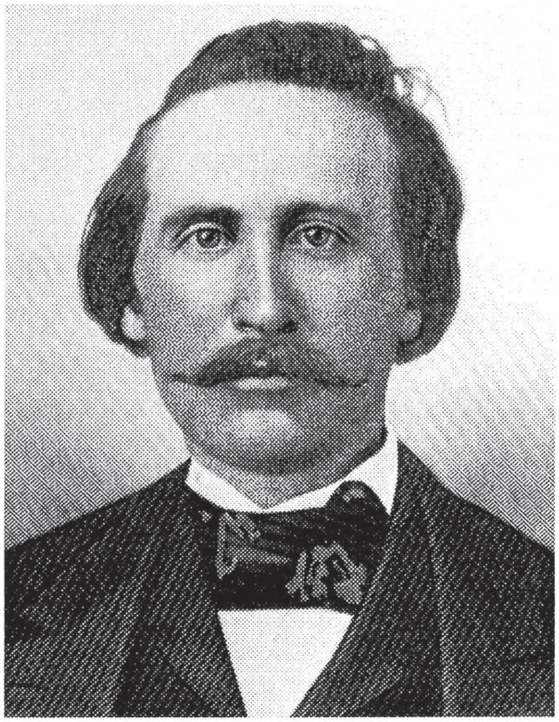

FIGURE 63

Lieutenant James Ferguson witnessed the massacre of the Utes at Table Point. *After the Indian captives were killed, Ferguson saw an old Ute wander down the mountain and into the militia camp asking to be shot down so that he could die with the other men of his band. Ferguson later described the scene to Captian John W. Gunnison.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

eleven Utes died on Table Point and three or four died on the shore of the lake a little later in the morning.[59] Several people who witnessed the carnage made higher estimates. Edmund Ellsworth wrote that about thirty Utes died that day.[60] William Hickman said the number of dead Indians totaled twenty-odd.[61] The exact number, then, probably lies somewhere between fourteen and thirty. The militia killed a large enough number of Indians in this tragic event to essentially break the will of the Utes to forcefully resist further white settlement of Utah Valley.

Later in the day, General Wells dispatched northward a detachment of men under Lieutenants Edmund Ellsworth and James A. Little. They left with several objectives. Their primary goal was to carry a letter from General Wells to Brigham Young informing the Mormon president of the militia's recent success at Table Point. On the way to Salt Lake City, the group was to escort the women and children belonging to the Ute men killed at Table Point to Fort Utah where the colonists and militiamen could provide them with food and shelter. Before traveling over the ice to Fort Utah, the officers carried an order requesting immediate resupply to the militia camp on the Spanish Fork River. Troops operating on Table Mountain were existing on less than half rations.[62]

Then the militiamen and their charges left the Spanish Fork camp and traveled northward across the frozen lake. They searched for a safe wagon route over the ice from Table Mountain to Fort Utah. Such a course would enable freighters to dispatch supplies to the troops in much less time. Once the officers arrived at Fort Utah, they made sure that Sergeant Fullmer knew he was to send supplies to General Wells as soon as possible.

Lieutenants Ellsworth and Little also turned their Indian prisoners over to Sergeant Fullmer, who put them under guard.[63] This Unwieldy number of prisoners included all of the Indian women and children captured during the campaign, as well as Waccara's relatives, who received safe conduct into the fort before the second day of battle. The colonists struggled to care for them all. Lieutenant John W. Gunnison described the living conditions of this hodgepodge group of Utes:

> A large number of prisoners were . . . carried into Fort Utah, and lodged under the cannon platform in tents until they could be distributed among the families in the [Salt Lake] valley. They were fed bounteously on beef, and it was a sight for a painter to see this motley group feast on the generosity of the captor's.[64]

After receiving news of the Ute setback at Table Point from Ellsworth and Little, Sergeant Fullmer sent General Wells a congratulatory message in which he said, "I received Yours of today pleased with the success you met with in finding the Indians and accomplishing in part our object, your orders are being

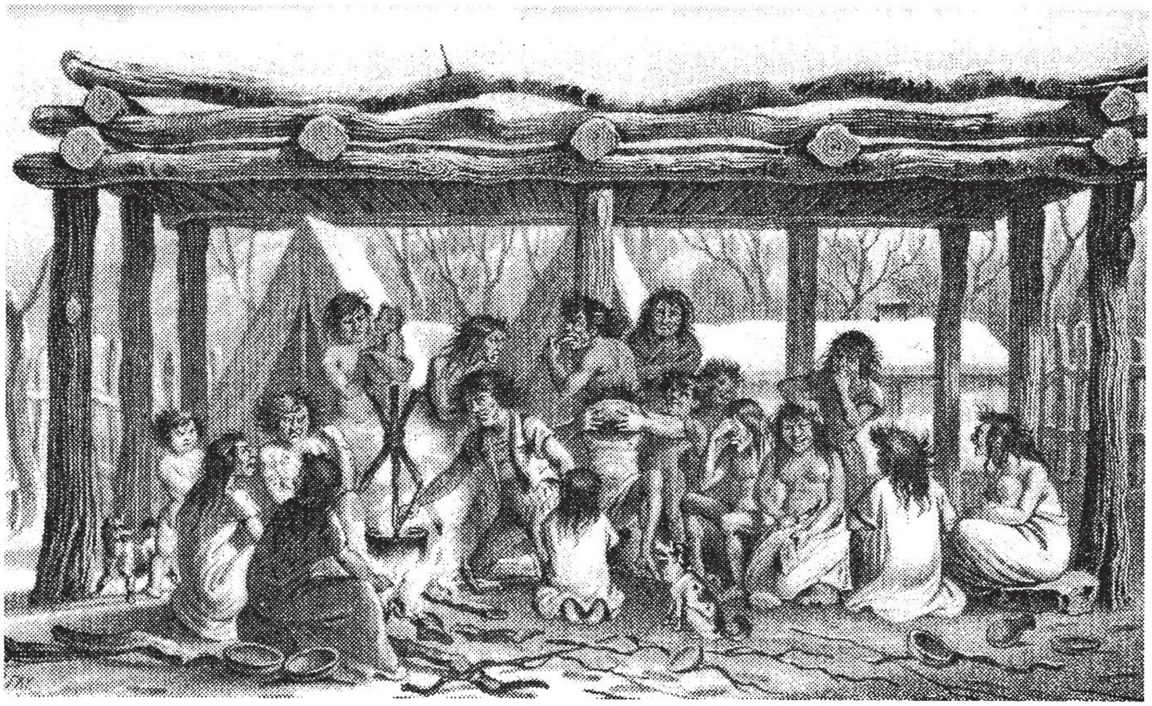

FIGURE 64

Ute captives under the bastion at Fort Utah. *One of Captain Stansbury's artists created this sketch showing the living conditions of Waccara's relatives, who were brought into the fort before the second day of battle, and the women and children captured during the campaign.* HOWARD STANSBURY, EXPEDITION TO THE GREAT SALT LAKE.

obeyed."[65] The sergeant also reported to General Wells that three wagons loaded with canister, ammunition, and flour had arrived at Fort Utah from Salt Lake City. That afternoon Fullmer started supplies south across the lake by pack train since a safe wagon trail had not yet been marked.[66]

Before resuming his journey to Salt Lake City, Lieutenant Little visited the small squad of militiamen camped at the mouth of Rock Canyon. Captain Grant had assigned them to keep the Utes corralled in the canyon until troops could deal with them later. Little found the men observant and doing their duty diligently.[67]

In his camp at Table Point, General Wells made tentative plans for the rest of the day. He intended to send a large group of militiamen scouting for Utes along the west side of the mountain to the terminus of Utah Lake. At the southern end of the lake, Wells planned to split his force. Half of the men would travel north along the west shore of the lake looking for Utes and would return to Fort Utah by crossing the lake on the ice. The remainder of the men would circle to the east, visiting Peteetneet Creek and Spanish Fork River before returning to the fort. General Wells had hoped to put these plans into action on 14 February, but the supplies he needed to carry out these maneuvers did not arrive from Fort Utah, so Wells and the troops spent another night in their camp on Table Point.[68]

Apparently food existed in Wells' camp and more provisions may have arrived later, because William Hickman and James Leach both reported receiving rations. Hickman, who had not eaten much since breakfast the day before, returned to camp to eat after the patrol killed the three Utes near the lake's shore.[69]

Concerning food that day James Leach wrote:

> The same day while we were taking our rest alittle there came to our relief plenty of bread and beef and coffey and shuggar which was sent to us by the presidency of the church from this we all had aright good resorce to which made us feel well[70]

Unaware of what had transpired that morning in southern Utah Valley, Brigham Young reevaluated the effectiveness of the Utah Valley Campaign after receiving General Wells' 13 February communication from the hand of Lieutenant Howland late on the night of 14 February. At that point in the conflict, the militia had made little progress against the Utes' effective defensive plan. President Young realized that the Utes' strategy was to break into smaller groups, fight only when conditions were favorable for success, and otherwise scatter and rendezvous later in a predesignated place. When the Utes used these tactics, it was almost impossible for a large body of well-provisioned troops to overtake them. If the militia eventually caught pockets of Indians, only a small number of Utes could be killed. Taking these things into consideration, Young wrote the following instructions to General Wells:

> Should things remain as they were, on receipt of this, you will withdraw your troops, and close the Campaign, after having organized all the men belonging to Fort Utah, in the most efficient Military body, possible, with instructions to hold themselves ready for emergency.
>
> In all things pertaining to the Campaign, should circumstances change, so as to require it, you will exercise a descretionary Power.71

President Young also instructed General Wells in the "proper" treatment of male Ute prisoners who remained hostile. Using veiled language, Young issued the following grim orders:

> We will not suffer Indians, who are Known to be hostile, and have come in your possession because they were sick and could not fight to want for any thing neither suffer them to go free until they are cured, Your Surgeon Mr Blake, is no doubt well provided with medicine, and will be ready to prevent that which will effect that most desirable of all objects, perfect health.[72]

If General Wells followed these orders, hostile, male prisoners of war soon ceased to be a problem.

On the morning of Friday, 15 February, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Ezra Taft Benson, and many others met in the church historian's office at 9:00 A.M. Here they received the information from Wells' letter dispatched 14 February and whatever news Edmund Ellsworth and James A. Little chose to relate regarding the encounter with the Utes at Table Point.[73] The letter and the news from the two militiamen encouraged the Mormon president. Young sent his congratulations to Wells along with a new set of instructions:

> Friday Morning. 9. oclock
>
> Feby. 15th We have Just received another Dispatch from you by the hand of E. Ellsworth, and Lieut Little, giving us the cheering and gratifying intelligence of your success over your enemies yesterday morning, in which the courage, and valor of the boys, as heretofore was manifested.— If the Indians sue for peace, grant it to them, according to your discretionary Judgment in the case.—If they continue hostile pursue them until you use them up—Let it be peace with them or extermination.[74]

President Young also instructed Wells to keep a guard on the Utes in Rock Canyon. If the opportunity presented itself, the troops were told to kill Old Elk and Stick-in-the-Head. Young wanted the people at Fort Utah to keep Waccara's relatives, Ang-a-te-wats and his family, safe in the pioneer enclosure. He ordered the officer in charge of the fort to send all the widows and orphans of dead Ute warriors to Salt Lake City where they could be farmed out to families who were willing to teach them to work.[75]

The leaders who were assembled in the historian's office also received encouraging news of the progress made by those militiamen wounded in the first two days of battle. The Historian's Office Journal states:

> Dr. Blake says he never saw such a Hospital as a Mormon Hospital— there is one man shot in both legs [and] altho he can but occasionally sit up—when he does he reaches his fiddle [and] plays as if nothing was the matter—A[lexander]. Williams who was seriously wounded now walks down to the Hospital daily - all the cripples [are] full of life [and] vigor.[76]

Some of the youngsters at the fort took advantage of the wounded fiddler to provide them with dance music. Anna Clark Hale later wrote concerning this:

> And a Mr. [Albert] Miles, a fiddler, was shot through both legs, and while he lay in bed, the boys and girls would prop him up and give him his fiddle and make him play while they danced. Aroet L. Hale (my husband's eldest brother), and my own brothers and sister, Miles Weaver and the Conovers were in the crowd.[77]

While the youngsters of Fort Utah danced, the grave business of exterminating Utes in southern Utah Valley continued. One small skirmish resulted in the final fatalities in that area. Captain A.L. Lamoreaux arrived at Fort Utah with fresh troops from Salt Lake Valley on 13 February. The next morning he started with his new recruits for the militia camp on the Spanish Fork River. They reached their destination about 1:00 P.M. Shortly thereafter, Lamoreaux received orders to proceed to Peteetneet Creek "and operate against a Small Band of indians in Campt in that vicinity." These were the Indians Robert T. Thomas and his men had left in peace the day before. At about 5:00 P.M., Captain Lamoreaux moved toward Peteetneet with about twenty-two men, a baggage wagon, and artillery. Why it was deemed necessary to use artillery against the three Indians camped on Peteetneet Creek is difficult to ascertain. Lamoreaux camped that night about one and a half miles from the small Indian camp that Robert T. Thomas and his men had reconnoitered earlier. Captain Lamoreaux intended to lead his men into action against these Utes the next morning.[78]

At 7:00 A.M. on 15 February, Captain Lamoreaux and fifteen of his men approached the brush and willows where the Ute wickiup was located. Lamoreaux divided his troops into three squads of five. One squad went to the right of the willows, another went to the left, and the third, under Lieutenant Reddick N. Allred, Lamoreaux's second in command, went through the middle of the undergrowth. Lamoreaux hoped Lieutenant Allred and his men would flush the Utes from the brush, and the men on either side would shoot them down as they came out. The plan did not work. The blind Ute had earlier informed Robert T. Thomas's men that the camp intended to "stand roost," and they were not easily pushed off their ground. Allred and his squad had no other choice than to fight it out with the Utes in the underbrush.

As the militiamen moved slowly forward through the thicket, a warrior waited in ambush for Allred. When the Mormon intruder was twenty or thirty feet from the hidden Indian, the warrior shot an arrow toward the Lieutenant's heart. Had Allred's adversary been the warrior with the lone pistol, the lieutenant would likely have been a dead man, but the arrow hit a button on the lucky trooper's coat and did not penetrate his body. Allred later wrote of that tense moment, "I had droped to my knees when I saw he had got the start of me, and before he could get ready with another arrow I sent a bullet through his head." The bruised and shaken militiaman picked up the arrow that had been stopped by his coat button and kept it as a souvenir of the skirmish.

In a half hour, Lamoreaux's men had killed all three Utes, the blind man included. One militiaman received a slight wound in the side, but the volunteers escaped again without a fatality. The troops returned victoriously to the Spanish Fork camp, arriving after midnight.[79]

The main body of militiamen under General Wells and Captain Lytle remained at Table Mountain on 15 February. Scouting parties thoroughly searched the mount but found no Indians. Captain Grant traveled along the west side of the mountain as far as the south end of Utah Lake where he camped for

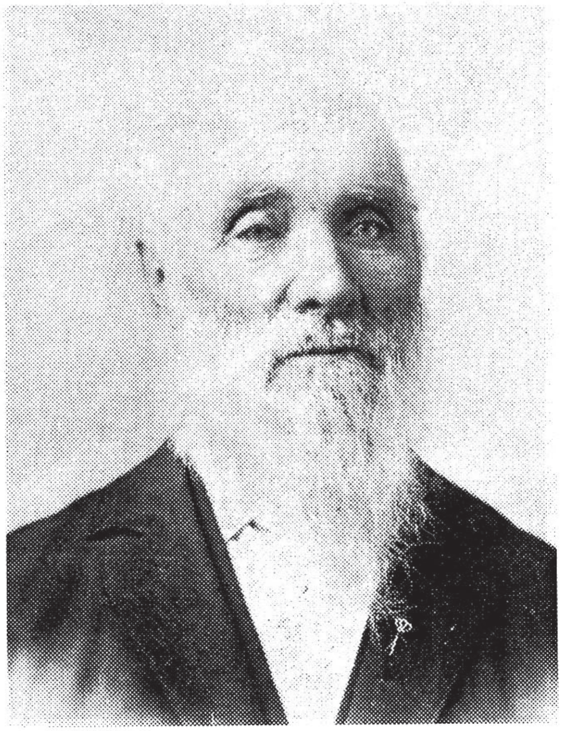

FIGURE 65

Reddick N. Allred arrived at Fort Utah on 13 February 1850 with replacement troops led by Captain Andrew L. Lamoreaux. *Allred and other militiamen marched to Peteetneet Creek in search of the three Utes left unharmed by Robert T. Thomas and his squad. A button on Allred's overcoat stopped an arrow that was shot by one of these Indians. The militiaman quickly shot the Ute through the head.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

the night. Grant sent word to Wells that a trail left in the snow indicated that the remainder of the Utes had left Table Mountain and traveled southward toward Summit Creek (Santaquin).[80] Sometime during the day, Wells also received a message from Captain Lamoreaux telling of his success at Peteetneet.[81]

At dusk, the militia prepared to spend the final of their three uncomfortable nights on Table Point. During the last two of these evenings, a new dimension of discomfort added to their misery. James Leach reported their latest source of distress: "We stayed too or three days and nights right in the midst of the dead indians and often while on our gard in the dark night would fall by catching my feet in the arms of the dead indians."[82] The militia obviously made no effort to provide a decent burial for their Ute victims or move the camp away from the vicinity of the bodies.

The volunteers spent a busy but uneventful day on 16 February. Mormon leaders worried that the Utes who escaped from Utah Valley might cause mischief in Sanpete Valley or harm the remainder of Parley P. Pratt's group who were returning from exploring the southern part of the Great Basin. Some of Pratt's men were still camped in the vicinity of Chalk Creek (Fillmore). General Wells assigned Ebenezer Hanks to lead a well-provisioned party of ten men to warn unsuspecting Mormons in those two areas. Three Fort Utah settlers—Elijah Ward, Merrill Wheeler, and Charles Zabriskie—traveled with this group.[83]

That same day, as the campaign in southern Utah Valley neared an end, General Wells divided his men and made one last sweep through the area looking for hostile Indians. Wells ordered all of the groups to proceed in a cautious manner, search for Utes, and route them, if possible. If the militiamen encountered Indians that could not be vanquished without too much risk, they were told to watch them from a safe distance so they could not slip away unnoticed and send to Fort Utah for supplies and reinforcements.[84]

Three main groups of militiamen joined in the operation. Captain Lytle traveled with fifteen men from Table Mountain to the west side of Utah Lake. After searching northward for some distance and encountering no Indians, Lytle moved his men eastward over the ice covering the lake. They arrived at Fort Utah about sunset.[85]

Captain Lamoreaux left the militia camp on Spanish Fork River and carefully searched along that stream looking for a few lodges of Utes that, according to previous report, existed in that area. Lamoreaux found no Indians, returned to the Spanish Fork camp, and then left it for Fort Utah. Sergeant Standage and the men under his command joined Lamoreaux on the ice of Utah Lake, and the two groups proceeded toward the fort. They arrived about dark.[86]

Captain Grant left his camp at the south end of Utah Lake about 9:00 A.M. First, he traveled to Summit Creek where he thought he might find the Utes who had recently left Table Mountain. By the time he arrived at the stream, the Indians had left. Their trail led south toward the Sevier River. From Summit Creek, Grant moved to Peteetneet Creek, which he also found deserted. The captain and his men arrived at the Spanish Fork camp about sundown and spent the night there. They arrived at Fort Utah the next day.[87]

James Leach described some of his activities during the last day of the campaign in Southern Utah Valley, and told of the comfort he felt when he reached Fort Utah:

> We stayed at this place [Table Point] to or three days hunting for more indians but we found no more at this point so brother wells told us to pick up our buffolo robes which answered for our bedding to lay down upon after we had made ahole in the snow so to do after we had pict up our things we started across the utah lake on the ice dragging the cannon along with us for the utah fort we got to the fort at night and being verry tired we felt thankful to get there the sisters that lived in the fort treated us like good women to the best the[y] had in their ho[u]ses and made us comfortable in our nights lodgings all the time that we stayed there[88]

By the evening of 16 February, General Wells felt confident that the Utes were defeated. He wrote to Brigham Young reassuring his commander in chief, "the Indians are used up and badly frightened we think they will be willing to behave themselves hereafter at least we hope so."[89]

Endnotes

1. Thomas Bullock, Notes, 10 February 1850, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

2. Daniel H. Wells, "Narrative of Daniel H. Wells," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 6 (October 1933): 126.

3. Ibid.; Historian's Office Journal, 10 February 1850, LDS Church Archives.

4. Daniel H. Wells, General Orders #12, 11 February 1850, Utah Territorial Militia Records, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as UTMR).

5. Wells, "Narrative," 126.

6. James Amasy Little, "Life of James Amasy Little," 20, typescript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

7. Wells, General Orders #12, 11 February 1850.

8. Ibid.

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10. Little, "Life of James Amasy Little," 20.

11. George W. Howland to Brigham Young, 11 February 1850, UTMR; Little, "Life of James Amasy Little," 20; Appleton Milo Harmon, Reminiscences, as quoted in Maybelle Harmon Anderson, ed., *Appleton Milo Harmon Goes West* (Berkeley, California: Gillick Press, 1946), 56.

12. Howland to Young, 11 February 1850; William Hickman and J.H. Beadle, *Brigham's Destroying Angel: Being The Life, Confession, and Startling Disclosures of the Notorious Bill Hickman, The Danite Chief of Utah* (New York: George A. Crofutt, 1872), 63–64.

13. Hickman and Beadle, *Brigham's Destroying Angels*, 64.

14. Howland to Young, 11 February 1850.

15 Grapeshot is a small cluster of iron balls resembling a cluster of grapes. The shot is loaded into a cannon with a charge of powder. When the field piece is fired, the grapeshot leaves the barrel and scatters. A canister consists of a powder charge and a small case full of numerous musket balls. When a canister is fired from a cannon, it bursts and the shot spreads. A canister is sometimes referred to as case shot, shot within a case.

16. Ibid.

17. Brigham Young to Daniel Wells, 12 February 1850, UTMR.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.; Horace S. Eldredge to John Brown, 12 February 1850, UTMR.

20. A.L. Lamoreaux to John Neff, 12 February 1850, UTMR.

21. A.L. Lamoreaux to Daniel H. Wells, 16 February 1850, UTMR.

22. James Amasy Little to Daniel H. Wells, 13 February 1850, UTMR.

23. Daniel H. Wells to Brigham Young, 13 February 1850, UTMR.

24. Daniel H. Wells to James A. Little, 12 February 1850, UTMR; Little to Wells, 13 February 1850.

25. Daniel Davis, Diary, 9–11 February 1850, LDS Church Archives.

26. Little to Wells, 13 February 1850.

27. Wells to Young, 13 February 1850.

28. Leach, Reminiscences and Diary, npn.

29. Little to Wells, 13 February 1850.

30. Wells to Young, 13 February 1850.

31. Brigham Young to Daniel H. Wells, 13 February 1850, UTMR.

32. Wells to Young, 13 February 1850.

33. Ibid.

34. Robert T. Thomas, "Autobiography of Robert T. Thomas as Dictated to His Son William Thomas in 1888 and Found in an Historical Sketch and Genealogy of the Thomas Families, 1888–1895," 58, LDS Church Archives.

35. Ibid., 59.

36. Ibid.

37. Wells to Young, 13 February 1850.

38. Ibid.

39. Hickman and Beadle, *Brigham's Destroying Angel*, 65.

40. Brigham Young to Daniel H. Wells, 14 February 1850, UTMR.

41. William H. Walker to Editor, 7 July 1897, in *Deseret News Weekly*, 17 July 1897.

42. Daniel H. Wells to Orson Whitney, 13 February 1850, UTMR; Orson Whitney to Daniel H. Wells, 13 February 1850, UTMR.

43. Wells to Young, 13 February 1850.

44. Wells, "Narrative," 126.

45. Abner Blackburn, Narrative, as quoted in Abner Blackburn, *Frontiersman: Abner Blackburn's Narrative*, ed. Will Bagley (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), 170.

46. Daniel H. Wells to Brigham Young, 13 February 1850, postscript added 14 February 1850, UTMR.

47. John W. Gunnison, Field Journal, 20 February 1850, as quoted in Brigham D. Madsen, ed., *Exploring Great Salt Lake: The Stansbury Expedition of 1849–50* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund and University of Utah Press, 1989), 265 (hereafter cited as Gunnison, Field Journal).

48. John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons, or, Latter-day Saints, in the Valley of The Great Salt Lake* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Company, 1852), 147.

49. George Mayer, Reminiscences and Diary, 33, LDS Church Archives.

50. Leach, Reminiscences and Diary, npn.

51. Hickman and Beadle, *Brigham's Destroying Angel*, 65–66.

52. Daniel H. Wells to Brigham Young, 14 February 1850, UTMR.

53. Leach, Reminiscences and Diary, npn.

54. Gunnison, Field Journal, 20 February 1850.

55. Wells to Young, 14 February 1850.

56. Hickman and Beadle, *Brigham's Destroying Angel*, 67.

57. Wells to Young, 14 February 1850.

58. Leach, Reminiscences and Diary, npn.

59. John W. Gunnison, Journal, 17 February 1850, as quoted in Brigham D. Madsen, ed., *Exploring Great Salt Lake* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund and University of Utah Press, 1989), 265; Hosea Stout, Diary, 16 February 1850, as quoted

28. Leach, Reminiscences and Diary, npn.

29. Little to Wells, 13 February 1850.

30. Wells to Young, 13 February 1850.

31. Brigham Young to Daniel H. Wells, 13 February 1850, UTMR.

32. Wells to Young, 13 February 1850.

33. Ibid.

34. Robert T. Thomas, "Autobiography of Robert T. Thomas as Dictated to His Son William Thomas in 1888 and Found in an Historical Sketch and Genealogy of the Thomas Families, 1888–1895," 58, LDS Church Archives.

35. Ibid., 59.

36. Ibid.

37. Wells to Young, 13 February 1850.

38. Ibid.

39. Hickman and Beadle, *Brigham's Destroying Angel,* 65.

40. Brigham Young to Daniel H. Wells, 14 February 1850, UTMR.

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42. Daniel H. Wells to Orson Whitney, 13 February 1850, UTMR; Orson Whitney to Daniel H. Wells, 13 February 1850, UTMR.

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44. Wells, "Narrative," 126.

45. Abner Blackburn, Narrative, as quoted in Abner Blackburn, *Frontiersman: Abner Blackburn's Narrative,* ed. Will Bagley (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), 170.

46. Daniel H. Wells to Brigham Young, 13 February 1850, postscript added 14 February 1850, UTMR.

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49. George Mayer, Reminiscences and Diary, 33, LDS Church Archives.

50. Leach, Reminiscences and Diary, npn.

51. Hickman and Beadle, *Brigham's Destroying Angel,* 65–66.

52. Daniel H. Wells to Brigham Young, 14 February 1850, UTMR.

53. Leach, Reminiscences and Diary, npn.

54. Gunnison, Field Journal, 20 February 1850.

55. Wells to Young, 14 February 1850.

56. Hickman and Beadle, *Brigham's Destroying Angel,* 67.

57. Wells to Young, 14 February 1850.

58. Leach, Reminiscences and Diary, npn.

59. John W. Gunnison, Journal, 17 February 1850, as quoted in Brigham D. Madsen, ed., *Exploring Great Salt Lake* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund and University of Utah Press, 1989), 265; Hosea Stout, Diary, 16 February 1850, as quoted

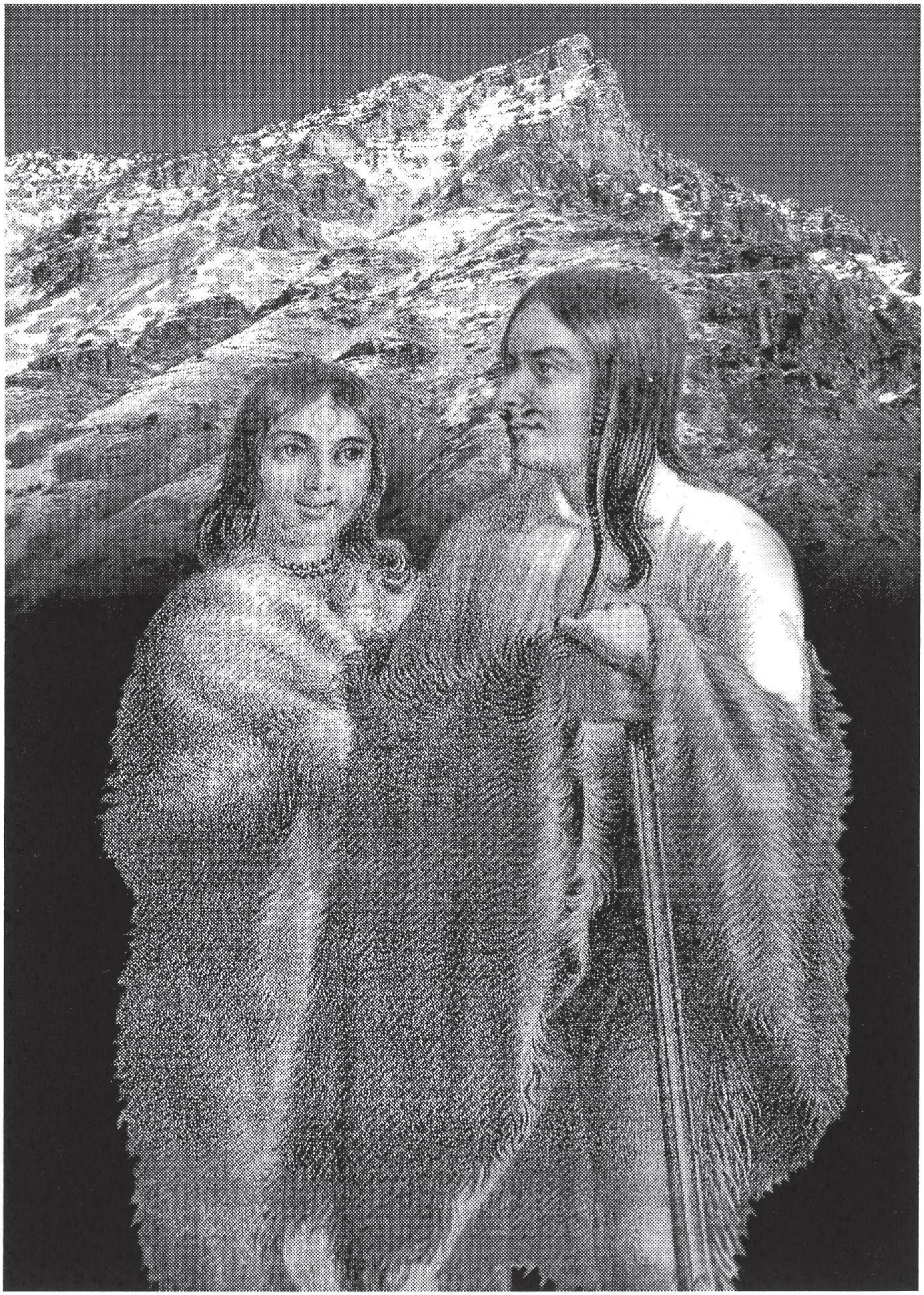

FIGURE 66

Squaw Peak, a majestic precipice located in Rock Canyon near Provo, received its name as the result of a tragic accident. *Chief Old Elk's wife, described as being pretty and intelligent, was among those Utes cornered in Rock Canyon by the militia during the Utah Valley Campaign. She fell from a cliff to her death while trying to escape. The peak was named for her. Old Elk also died in this vicinity.* "OLD ELK AND HIS SQUAW" ILLUSTRATION FROM HOWARD STANSBURY, EXPEDITION TO THE GREAT SALT LAKE. SQUAW PEAK PHOTO COURTESY AUTHOR.

CHAPTER 11

“Let It Be With Them ‘Extermination or Peace’”

GENERAL DANIEL H. WELLS HOPED TO ACHIEVE ONE MORE goal before he and his men returned to Salt Lake City. The Utes who had left their village under cover of darkness on 9 February and fled to Rock Canyon, which the Indians called the House of God, still remained corralled in the craggy gorge by a militia detachment who guarded the canyon's mouth. Wells hoped to either gain the surrender of these Utes or to exterminate them. On the morning of 17 February, he moved to achieve his purpose. At about 8:00 A.M., he sent two companies under Captains Lytle and Lamoreaux east from Fort Utah to the mouth of Rock Canyon.[1]

Scouts, including William Hickman, scrambled up each side of the steep crevice hoping to locate Indian positions from the higher vantage points and report them to the men advancing up the bottom of the canyon. These spotters discovered the whereabouts of the Utes, fired upon them, and then reported their presence to the militiamen below. The Indians fled up the canyon and into the Wasatch Mountains. After some brief action, the troops left the canyon "having killed one Indian [and] wounding another[,] one Squaw killing herself falling from a precipice."[2] Although it is doubtful this woman fell from Squaw Peak itself, this incident did give that scenic cliff in Rock Canyon its name. According to Edward Tullidge, the Indian woman was Old Elk's wife. "She was young and said to be the handsomest squaw in the Ute nation; she was also very intelligent," Tullidge wrote.[3]

In a letter to Brigham Young, General Wells reported the grisly scene discovered by his troops in Rock Canyon: "They found four or five dead Indians on the route, (among whom was [Old] Elk) who unquestionably died from exposure . . . and fatigue, having been driven from their shelter and quarters in the timbers and brush of the Provo [River]."[4]

Lieutenant John W. Gunnison later wrote what could fittingly serve as the Ute chief's epitaph: "'Old Elk,' the terror of the mountains, was found dead on the trail. He had long boasted that no single person or trapper could live with him in the valley, and numbers [of men] are supposed to have fallen under his rifle."[5]

Although William Hickman claimed that he killed Old Elk, General Wells' report states the chief had died from exposure. A case of measles and a wound Old Elk received in the first days of the campaign also contributed to his death.[6] Hickman, the "destroying angel," stated that he took the dead chief's bows and arrows and hid them. He wanted souvenirs and was afraid "those *cautious* fellows who were great warriors" would come along after the action was over and seize the chief's weapons for themselves "to take home to show what victories they had achieved." Hickman also told of another less desirable memento that he acquired from Old Elk: "I took off his head, for I had heard the old mountaineer, Jim Bridger, say he would give a hundred dollars for it. I tied it in his blanket and laid it on a flat rock."[7] Then, according to Hickman's account, he continued to search the gorge for Utes.

Later, after action in the canyon had ended, Hickman returned to the site where he had allegedly performed his mutilation. The ruffian was amused by what he found. He wrote of the occasion:

> When I came to where I had killed the chief, I had to laugh. Those rear fellows who had been in the habit of picking up every thing, had untied the blanket that was around the chief's head, but on seeing what it contained left it untied with the head sitting in the middle, entirely untouched.[8]

The scoundrel picked up his loot and returned to Fort Utah.

Although Hickman's account of Old Elk's death is dubious and cannot be completely substantiated, Jane Park, a young inhabitant of the fort at the time of the Utah Valley Campaign, later gave credence to Hickman's claim that Old Elk's head had been cut off. She told the following story to a newspaper reporter many years later:

> Among others killed [in Utah Valley] was Old Elk, the fighting chief, whose head was brought into camp [at Fort Utah] and hung pendant by its long hair from the willows of the roof of one of the houses. I well remember how horrible was the sight.[9]

Nor was Old Elk the only Ute warrior the militia relieved of his head. No official reports or letters mention the following atrocity, but a few reliable personal primary accounts do. Several days after the massacre at Table Point, probably about 17 February, army surgeon James Blake, who was on loan to the militia from Captain Howard Stansbury's company of U.S. Topographical Engineers, decided a collection of Ute heads would prove beneficial to future scientific study. Epsy Jane Williams Pace wrote concerning his intentions, "after the flesh was off he was going to take them back to Washington."[10]

Dr. Blake hired James Orr and Abner Blackburn to take him across the frozen lake to Table Point, help him cut off the heads of the Utes who had been massacred there on 14 February, and bring him back with his loathsome load. Abner Blackburn later described this "scientific expedition."

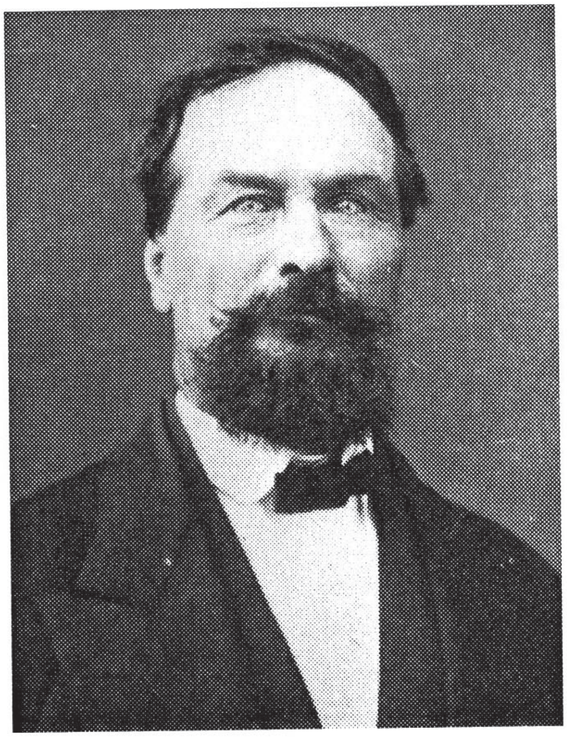

FIGURE 67

William Hickman, an infamous Mormon ruffian, fought in almost every engagement that took place during the Utah Valley Campaign. *Hickman claimed that in Rock Canyon he killed Old Elk and cut off his head.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

> [We] hired a sley [and] crost over on the ice. The weather was bitter cold. The surgeon to[o]k out his box of instruments and comenced. It took him a quarter of an hour to cut off one head. The sun was getting low and [it was] frezing cold. Jim and me took the job in our own hands. We were not going to wait on the surgeons slow motion. [We] Jerked our knives out and had them all off in a few minutes. They were frozen and come off easy in our fassion. The surgeon stood back and watched us finish the job.[11]

Blackburn's account indicates that the militia made no attempt to bury their fallen foes at Table Point. Also, if the two frontiersmen gathered their odd harvest "in a few minutes," the Ute bodies must have been clustered in a small area. This suggests that they were shot down while bunched together, and that the deed was likely accomplished in a very short period of time.

The arrival of these headhunters at Fort Utah caused quite a stir. The men apparently exhibited the heads during some sort of grim public display. Anna Clark Hale, who was a young girl at the time, formed an unfavorable impression of the sight that lasted for the rest of her life. Years later she recorded her repugnance: "I can never forget the horrible and frightening scene when the boys brought into the Fort a number of Indian heads with their nasty bloody necks and their tongues sticking out of their mouths. It was awful."[12]

It appears that Dr. Blake was an avid hunter and epicure as well as a scientist. Abner Blackburn related the following story which demonstrates Blake's prowess as a sportsman and his genteel culinary tastes:

> The surgeon shot some ducks, ten or twelve. [He] boxed them up, guts, feathers, and all, and told me to bring them down with the Indian heads in a week or two to Salt Lake City. Took them down according to agreement. The weather turned warm and the ducks were green with rot. The Indian heads smelt loud. Drove to his office and told him the ducks were spoilt. He opened the box, pulled out a wing, smelt it and says they are just right. He settled up and invited me to super. I was not hungry and declined his offer.[13]

Blackburn obviously did not share the doctor's highly developed tastes in food.

Captains Peter W. Conover and William McBride held a role call and paraded the militia at Fort Utah on 22 February. They reported to General Daniel H. Wells in a letter penned that same day: "We called the roll today and paraded the Men, found one absent by the name of Abner Blackburn Report Says, that he started the day previous for G.S.L. City without asking leave."[14] Blackburn, who planned to depart for California in the spring, was likely on his way to Salt Lake City with a cargo of Indian heads in tow. The entrepreneurial flame kindled early in Utah Valley.[15]

The militia did not find as many Utes in Rock Canyon as they expected, and the troops wondered what had happened to the Indians. The men stationed at the mouth of the canyon prevented the Utes from escaping into the valley. The trapped Timpanogots had faced two unpleasant alternatives. They could choose to fight it out against superior numbers, or they could battle their way through deep snow to the head of Rock Canyon, cross over the ridge into Pole Canyon, and descend into Provo Canyon. Even if they succeeded in getting to Provo Canyon, they still had to struggle eastward up that narrow defile through deep snow to a suitable place for a winter camp. Few, if any, of the militia officers expected the Timpanogots to climb out of Rock Canyon. However, by superhuman effort, eight men, including the twice wounded Chief Stick-in-the-Head and Patsowet, the Ute who killed Joseph Higbee on the second day of the Battle of Provo River, made that trip on snowshoes that they had constructed during their confinement in the canyon. Miraculously, six women and seven children successfully accompanied them. As a result, only a few Utes remained in the canyon. The militia captured some of the stragglers and seized two horses belonging to the Utes. The Indians had killed some of their other horses for food.[16]

George Mayer succinctly summarized the day's activities in Rock Canyon:

"Wente up the Canuen and routed thim that we founde there Chefe bige Elke Ded and Severl others and Shet Severl others and tooke Severl others wiman priseners we then Returnd to the forte Having gande a Complete victory over the Indens[.]"[17]

In all the various engagements, the Utes had only managed to wound a small number of militiamen and kill one. They were able to take no prisoners. Mayer also recorded the reason the Utes gave for the success of the Mormon campaign in Utah Valley:

> The Inden Sade that they will never fight nor make wor with the mormans Eny more becase that they Cant shoote a morman That wen the[y] had good ame and with agoode Rifels they Boolet wolde go moste ther, then woulde turne Shorte of, and they colde not Shoote our pepel and they wolde be our frinds and the[y] have Kep the worde. The presedend Yonge Sade that we had no fiere [to] aprehand from the Indens[.][18]

After meeting little resistance in Rock Canyon, General Wells decided to take most of his troops back to Salt Lake Valley. A small number of fighting men could deal with the few Timpanogots and other Utes who still existed in the vicinity without compromising the safety of the people residing at Fort Utah.

General Wells placed Captains William McBride and Peter W. Conover in charge of military affairs in Utah Valley. McBride took command of ten volunteers from Salt Lake Valley and fifteen men from Fort Utah. Wells ordered the captain to take his men to Rock Canyon once more with their blankets and enough provisions for three days. McBride received instructions to thoroughly and cautiously examine the canyon, waylay and cut off from escape all Utes they found, and report to Captain Conover, the commander at Fort Utah. Wells also directed McBride to escort the wounded militiamen back to Salt Lake City as soon as Dr. Blake decided that they could safely make the trip.[19]

General Wells also issued orders to Captain Conover. He directed Conover to keep a strict organization over his command and watch for Indian movements by sending out scouting parties to the Spanish Fork River, Table Mountain, Peteetneet, and any areas the Utes were known to frequent. If Conover found Utes who were willing to sue for peace, Wells instructed him to grant it to them. If the Indians did not sue for peace, Wells commanded Conover to "persue and slay them where-ever they can be found. Let it be with them 'Extermination or Peace.'"[20]

In order to help insure that Captain Conover kept his men ready for any emergency that might arise in the future, General Wells instructed Conover to muster his men the first Monday in March and every two months thereafter until ordered otherwise. Wells required Conover to make a record of those who

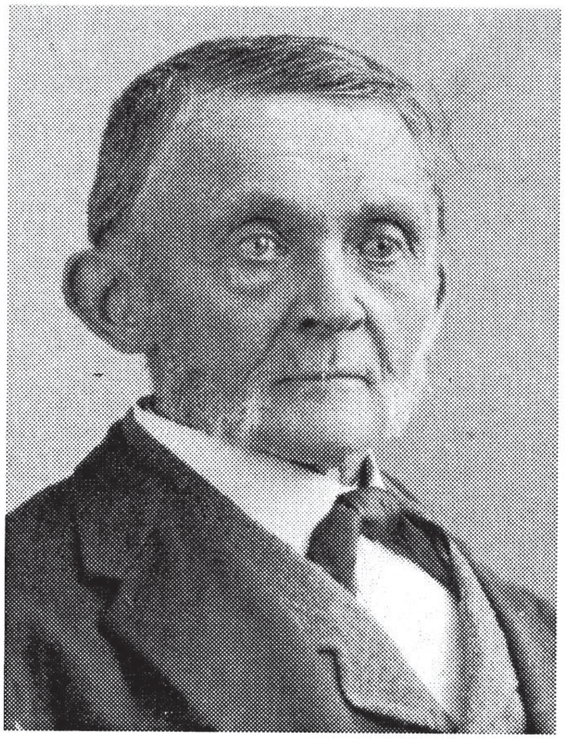

FIGURE 68

James Leach came to Fort Utah with the Salt Lake Valley militia. *His invaluable reminiscence provides important details on almost every facet of the conflict. When he arrived back in Salt Lake City, he felt "thankfull to my god for preserving my life throo the scenery that ihad to pass through."* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

attended each muster, inspect his men's weapons, determine how much ammunition they had on hand, and send the report to the Adjutant General's office after each muster.[21]

The morning of 18 February, the main body of troops and their Indian prisoners, twenty-six women and children who rode in wagons, left for Salt Lake City. The returning militiamen drove with them thirteen horses they had captured from the Utes. They hoped to arrive at Willow Creek that night. Officers received orders to make sure their men did not leave the command until they were regularly dismissed. Sergeant Fullmer and twenty men transported and guarded the prisoners. The quartermaster stayed behind to collect all public property, including any taken from the Utes, and send it to Salt Lake City.[22]

James Leach described the departure of the militia from Fort Utah and their encampment that night:

> In the morning when we left utah fort the brethren struck up atune the girll ileft behind me which cheerd up our feelings and mad[e] the heart glad we traveled all day at night we took up our lodgings on the mountain that divides the too valleys great Salt and utah valley it being such asevere cold night and windy caused the snow to fly in all directions so that ihad with the rest of my brethren to moove about all night nearly to keep from freezing[23]

On 19 February, the militia resumed its journey to Salt Lake City. The troops arrived in the capital city at 2:00 P.M. The General assembly came out to meet them, and Brigham Young addressed his militia.[24] James Leach's description must have echoed the emotions of many of his companions. He penned:

> We got to the city of the great salt lake about too o'clock in the after noon went up to head quarters and there the presidency dismist us with their heart felt thanks towards us and blest us in the name of the lord having

> that authority given unto them of the lord that whomesover the[y] blest should be blest. . . . When igot my discharge with the rest of the brethren ifelt thankfull to my god for preserving my life throo the senery that ihad to pass through along with the brethren that iwas with[25]

On this occasion, the troops voted that the captured horses should be given to the friendly Indians who lived near Salt Lake City.[26] Church leaders decided that the women and children prisoners should be divided among the brethren to be used "for servants & children to be taught to work for their living."[27] Joseph Grafton Hovey recorded in his diary, "The children are to be given to those who fought and they are to bring them up and show them how to live."[28] Apparently, those militiamen who fought in Utah Valley got the first choice of which prisoners they wanted. The militiamen and their townsmen showed a lively interest in the prisoners. The Church Historian's Office Journal states, "Many brethren go to look at the Squaws that are in two tents north of the Bowery."[29]

After the returning troops received their welcome home, the General Assembly met. General Daniel H. Wells gave a verbal report of the war, but a record of what he said does not seem to exist. However, later in the month Wells sent a report to the United States Secretary of War in which he summarized the results of the recent campaign. His speech to the General Assembly probably contained similar information. Wells wrote in the letter:

> In our engagements with them as our reports will show only one man was Killed, and five wounded; While of them 26 warriors are known to have been Killed, five wounded while some [about 10 known] have died through exposure, want and fatigue, in being routed from their retreats at this inclement season of the year. Many more are supposed to have been killed and wounded but, in accordance with Indian custom, carried away by them. Thirteen Horses have been taken from them, which will be returned to them, when it shall be seen that they will live in peace, and refrain from their depredations.[30]

It is impossible to ascertain exactly how many Utes perished. Totals given by most primary sources vary from twenty-four to forty. It is possible that those reporting numbers in the twenties were referring to the number of warriors who were known to have been killed. Those who listed forty deaths may have been referring to the total number of Indians of both sexes and all ages who were known to have died during the campaign from any cause. Some casualties likely remained undetected.[31]

Pioneer casualties were much smaller. The Utes killed Joseph Higbee. Seven militiamen—Samuel Carn, Albert Miles, Alexander Stephens, James Orr, Alexander Williams, Jabez Nowlin, and Isham Flynn—received wounds serious nough to warrant mention in correspondence and journals. Others received light wounds.

The Utah Valley Campaign proved to be costly for both sides in terms of material goods used or destroyed. The Timpanogots lost almost everything they possessed. Their homes and nearly all their tools, utensils, bedding, clothing, food, and horses were either captured or destroyed. The Utes found themselves destitute in the midst of extremely inhospitable winter weather. It is a wonder that any survived.

The settlers lost horses and cattle. Supplying, feeding, and paying the militiamen for their services cost many thousands of dollars. When the militiamen returned to their homes in Salt Lake Valley and in Fort Utah, they had two weeks of unfinished work waiting for them. Their delayed labors may have resulted in smaller harvests that season.

The women on both sides suffered from intense mental anguish. The Ute women and their families shared physical discomfort and danger with the Ute men. They saw their loved ones wounded and even witnessed their deaths. Most of the Ute women's pioneer counterparts were spared this trauma, but many of the wives of the militiamen were weighed down with increased physical labor, loneliness, and a constant apprehension for their husbands' safety.

When news of militia casualties began to arrive, many practical women in Salt Lake Valley prepared for the worst. Elmeda S. Harmon, wife of volunteer Appleton Harmon, described the reaction of many women:

> When we learned of one of the men being killed by Indians, Joe Higbee, by name, we women who had husbands with the expedition washed and ironed our husbands' clothes to be ready for burial in case they, too, should lose their lives in the conflict.[32]

Even before the militia left for Fort Utah, people in Salt Lake City realized serious Indian problems brewed in that locality. On 29 January, when Marilla Miller received news of her husband William's appointment as judge in Utah Valley, it gave her "quite a shock." It meant that she and her family would eventually have to leave the safety of Salt Lake City and embrace a more primitive life at Fort Utah. Then church leaders decided to wage total war against the Timpanogots, and William Miller likely left for the southern valley sooner and under different conditions than Marilla thought he would. He departed with Captain Grant on 4 February.[33] In her journal, Marilla left a poignant and prayerful account of the agony and desolation she felt as a result of her husband's absence with the troops.

Even before William Miller reached Fort Utah, his wife suffered from loneliness and anguish. Her diary entry of 7 February shows her growing feeling of desolation:

> I arose this morning with the headache. Have spent another long, lonesome day. My heart is to much set upon my beloved to enjoy life without him. Hope all is well with him. When I look upon the first ten years I spent with him I feel to say with the poets
>
> Ah, happy days like lightning fled, Forever and forever gone
>
> They come upon me like a tone of music issuing from the dead.[34]

When Marilla received news of the first two days of battle, she expressed her concern for William in her diary. She also wrote a short prayer for her husband's safe return:

> Unwelcome news comes to our ears this morning. Our Brethern are some of them wounded by the Indians. O, savage foe, when will we be free from mobs and troubles of this kind. Again we hear they have another battle. One killed, two wounded. O, Father of Mercies, bless thy people, spare their lives and bring them safely to their families, that our hearts may be gladdened and Thy Name shall be praised. Father, forgive my weakness but Thou knowest I enjoy nothing without him. Bring him safely home that my sorrow may be turned into joy.[35]

The next day Marilla joined Elmeda Harmon and countless other Salt Lake women in cleaning and repairing burial clothing for their husbands. They wanted to be ready in case the unspeakable became the inevitable. To Marilla the day seemed so long that she could "hardly remember when it was morning." In the evening, she wrote another heartfelt prayer for William's safe return.[36]

Almost two weeks after William Miller's departure, Marilla continued to feel ill and tried to keep busy in an effort to think about something other than her husband. She also sought solace from her Bible. She confided in her diary:

> I have the headache this morning. Feel very weak. . . . I am trying to sew a little. Hope the long wished for one will come soon. This afternoon, being alone, I took my Book, and the first passage my eye fell upon was this: Be patient in tribulation, until I come and behold I come quickly and my reward is with me. . . . Mr. Miller comes not.[37]

On 17 February, a few militiamen began arriving back in Salt Lake City. Their officers had dismissed them from duty after Captain Lamoreaux's replacement troops arrived in Utah Valley. That day Marilla wrote, "The men have all come up to shave and clean up but no Wm. comes yet. I am all most discouraged."[38]

Unfortunately, Marilla Miller's diary temporarily ends at this point before most of the men returned from Utah Valley. She leaves to our imagination the joy she felt when her husband finally arrived, but what she did write provides us with a rare glimpse of how at least one woman felt about her husband's absence during the Utah Valley Campaign. Very possibly many other Salt Lake City women shared her feelings of agony and loneliness. William Miller returned unharmed and later moved Marilla and his family to Utah Valley. They lived in Springville for a number of years and then moved to Provo.

FIGURE 69

In January 1850, William Miller received an appointment to be a judge in Utah County. *In February he marched to Fort Utah with the militia and participated in the Indian conflict. Miller's wife, Marilla, and many of her counterparts in Salt Lake Valley, prepared burial clothes for their husbands in case the men failed to return to Salt Lake City alive.* COURTESY LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES.

For General Wells and the majority of the troops, the conflict was over, but skirmishes continued in Utah Valley. In response to orders from Wells, Captain William McBride proceeded toward Rock Canyon with twenty-two men on the afternoon of 18 February.[39] The troops arrived at the mouth of the canyon and camped for the night. They found shelter in the house built by Captain John Wakely and his men when they had guarded the mouth of the canyon to prevent the Utes from escaping.[40]

Early the next morning, McBride left three militiamen to guard the baggage wagon and began a foray into the canyon with the remainder of his men. They had not traveled far when they discovered some deserted Ute campsites that the Indians had fortified with breastworks. From there, the troops followed bloody tracks nearly to the top of Rock Canyon. When they reached the head of the canyon, they discovered six or seven deserted Ute lodges fortified with breastworks constructed from a considerable amount of brush, wood, and poles. After leaving this cluster of habitations, Captain McBride's troops spotted the only two Utes they reported seeing that day. The captain described the action that followed: "We Killed one, but supposing them Squaws owing to the garb they wore, we took the other prisoner As he offered no resistance."[41] The militia returned unharmed to Fort Utah that evening with their prisoner.

On 20 February, the troops at Fort Utah continued searching for signs of Utes. Captain Peter W. Conover took a squad of Fort Utah boys consisting of Samuel Ewing, Thomas Willis, Robert Egbert, Edward E. Holden, and Abram Conover up Provo River past the battleground to see if they could discover any fresh Indian trails. A Ute who Captain Conover had earlier taken into Fort Utah for safety acted as guide. Near the battleground, they located a trail leading up the river, and two militiamen, one of them unarmed, followed the tracks a considerable distance. The path, which crossed the river seven times, joined a well-beaten moccasin trail headed for Provo Canyon. The two trackers saw blood here and there along the trail and noticed several places where Indians, who appeared to be carrying the wounded, had laid their suffering companions down. After following the trail as far as they dared, the men returned to the fort and reported their activities to Conover.[42]

That afternoon the captains made plans to continue their quest the next day. Conover ordered five men to follow the recently discovered trail along Provo River and on up into the canyon. He directed another five men to search the area south of Provo Bay and along the Spanish Fork River. Conover would lead ten men up Rock Canyon to its head, cross over the divide into Pole Canyon, and descend to Provo Canyon. If any Utes were left along that route, the men hoped to ferret them out.[43]

Captain Conover found it necessary to make one change at the fort. Due to the large number of horses being fed at the settlement the previous two weeks, the colonists found feed for their animals to be very scarce. Conover ordered the men to take the horse herd across the Provo River to forage them on land where more feed was available. Herdsmen guarded the horses closely to prevent them from being stolen by any Indians who possibly still lurked in the area.[44]

Inclement weather kept the men in the fort on 21 February, but there was some entertainment. Joseph H. Boynton, one of the Salt Lake Valley boys who had come to Utah Valley with Captain A.L. Lamoreaux, disobeyed orders

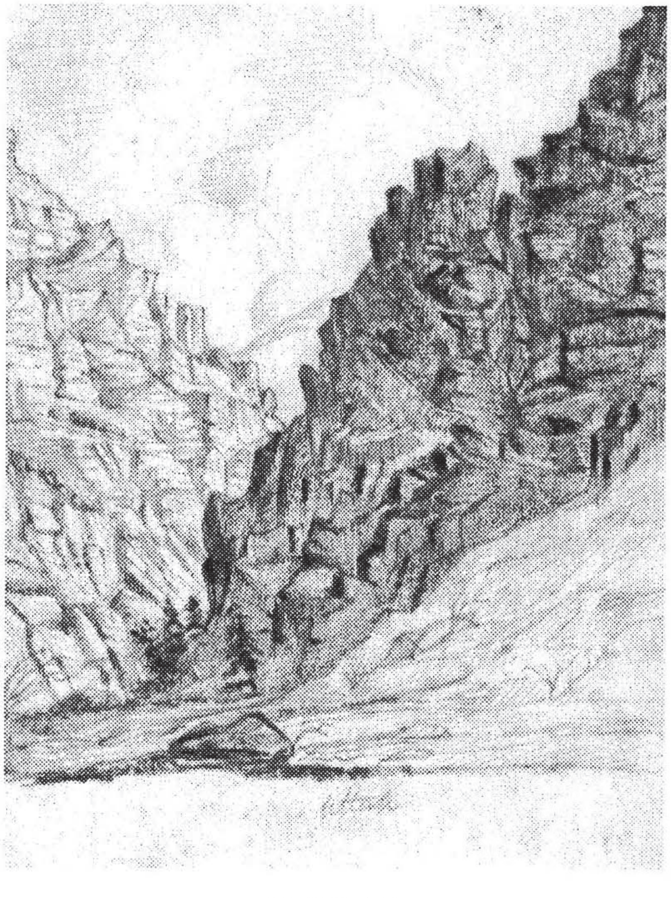

FIGURE 70

John Hudson's sketch of the mouth of Rock Canyon. *Even after the majority of the troops had returned to Salt Lake City, small detachments of militiamen continued to search Rock Canyon for straggling groups of Utes.* COURTESY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, J. WILLARD MARRIOTT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF UTAH.

"in plain terms." Captain McBride placed Boynton under guard and paraded him around the fort and around the bastion while the band played the "Rogue's March."[45]

Captains Conover and McBride faced two other problems of a military nature. If they were expected to follow Indian trails to the south part of the valley and also up Rock and Provo Canyons, they would need an additional 200 or 300 pounds of flour, several bushels of corn, and a few pounds of coffee. Also, McBride knew it was his responsibility to return the wounded militiamen and the remainder of the volunteers to Salt Lake City. All the invalids felt well enough to travel with the exception of Alexander Stephens, but the weather was damp and Dr. Blake advised against them making the trip under those conditions. Since the day General Wells and the main body of troops had left Fort Utah with the captured Ute women and children, the militiamen at Fort Utah had brought in three more women. One warrior had also surrendered in Rock Canyon. Somehow, Captain McBride had to transport the women to Salt Lake City, but he did not know what to do with the warrior. McBride lacked a good team and wagon in which to transport the wounded, the prisoners, and the baggage. Conover and McBride sent a letter to General Wells asking him what they should do.[46]

Although heavy snow made it impossible to send out any patrols on the morning of 22 February, it did not prevent the officers from having roll call and parading the troops.[47] The sky cleared about noon, making it possible for Conover and McBride to lead another patrol to the battleground. From the site of the battle, they followed an Indian trail along Provo River and up Provo Canyon. About a mile and a half up the canyon, snow two or three feet deep forced them to halt. They found it impossible to continue without expending considerable labor opening a trail. The detachment turned around and returned to the fort. Again on 23 February, a heavy snowstorm frustrated efforts to search for straggling Utes.[48]

In Salt Lake City, General Wells, who had received the letter from the officers at Fort Utah asking for directions, sat down and composed a reply. He fully expected that by this time Captain McBride would have returned to Salt Lake City with the remainder of the Salt Lake volunteers, including the wounded. Wells penned the following orders to McBride:

> It is not necessary to pursue the Indians further.
>
> The Indian prisoner last taken you will release with instructions to him to apprize the Survivors of his nation that they may return and dwell in peace if they cease their depredations and refrain from Stirring up the neighboring Indians to enmity with the Settlements. . . . If they will do this we will

> return them their horses and become again their friends. We do not wish to continue to war with them, but merely teach them to do right.[49]

Wells also told McBride to bring the women prisoners to the city.

As to McBride's lack of a wagon and team to transport the baggage, wounded militiamen, Indian prisoners, and public property to Salt Lake City, Wells told him to get a conveyance from the people of Fort Utah. The general said that somebody from the fort would surely be bringing an empty wagon to Salt Lake City to load with grain to haul back to Utah Valley. McBride could use that wagon. Wells was especially adamant that the captain should not forget to bring back to Salt Lake City an empty keg with a spigot attached to it. The keg had been left either at the hospital or at Isaac Higbee's cabin.[50] Its contents may have been used to sooth the suffering of the wounded or inspire the leaders at the fort.

General Wells told Isaac Higbee and Peter Conover what he wanted them to do if the Indians returned to Utah Valley. He instructed them to make peace if that was what the Utes wanted and admonished the pioneer leaders to watch the Utes carefully. Wells warned those in charge not to trust the Indians too far and told them to ascertain, if they could, the true feelings the Indians harbored toward the colonists. "Be prepared to detect any hypocracy,"[51] he cautioned them.

Captain McBride made final preparations to return to Salt Lake City on 24 February. He secured one and a half bushels of corn from Peter Conover and fed it to the animals pulling the wagon and to the horses belonging to the troops. McBride promised Conover that he would be repaid when they reached the city. At 9:00 A.M. the little cavalcade, which included seventeen militiamen and four Indian prisoners, pushed northward. They reached the Cottonwood Settlement by nightfall and fed their sixteen horses on corn and fodder to strengthen them for the last leg of the trip. The officers took quarters with Bishop William Crosby where they ate supper that night and took breakfast the next morning.[52]

After eating breakfast on 25 February, the returning militia resumed their journey. They delivered the wounded, Samuel Carn, Alex Stephens, and Albert Miles, to their homes as they went. The detachment arrived in Salt Lake City at 2:00 P.M. and handed over the three female prisoners to General Wells.[53] The fate of the male prisoner remains unknown.

After three weeks, the Utah Valley Campaign had come to an end. The Mormon settlers won a temporary victory over their Indian adversaries. They took the Utes to military school and taught them a lesson, but the colonists also gained some knowledge that would help Brigham Young formulate his future Indian policy. They began to realize that it might be easier and cheaper to feed the Utes than to fight them.

Life for the settlers at the fort became a little less traumatic after the

Timpanogots fled from the valley, but the colonists found it difficult to maintain a comfortable lifestyle. They lacked provisions since much of their surplus food and animal fodder had been used to supply the Salt Lake Valley militiamen and their animals. Again, as they had the first spring, the inhabitants of the fort cinched up their belts, tightened their apron strings, and made do with "slim pickin's." Also, fears of future Indian confrontations unsettled their emotional well being. They worried about how Waccara and other powerful Ute leaders would react to news of the Timpanogots' defeat.

News from the Sanpete settlement eased the minds of Utah Valley settlers somewhat. The couriers General Wells had sent on 16 February to warn Isaac Morley and the new settlers at Manti of possible violence they might face as a result of the conflict in Utah Valley, finally arrived at the new colony after nearly four days of traveling through snow and cold weather. Soon after their arrival on 19 February, Morley called for a council and invited Chief Waccara and other Indians. Barney Ward, a Mormon interpreter from Fort Utah, revealed news of the recent confrontation to the expectant Utes. Although his words caused considerable excitement among the natives, Waccara reacted calmly and even expressed his tacit approval to what the settlers had done. He said:

> Let them fight it out; all is right; if your big captain does not interfere, I will not; all fight; the Utah's [Timpanogots] are bad; they will not take my counsel; they have killed my son, Battee I feel bad. . . . I want the Mormons to stay here and plant and sow, and do us good, and we will be friends. If they [the Timpanogots] will fight and be killed, it is all right.[54]

The next morning Waccara sent two men thirty miles to the camp of Arrapeen, his brother. The Ute chief advised Arrapeen not to go out to fight, but stay in his camp. Waccara also sent runners with the same message to Utes in surrounding regions.[55] In addition, he gave some advice to the settlers. The wily chief told them not to make a treaty with the Utah Valley Utes until they came in and asked for peace.[56]

On 16 March, news came from the remnant of Parley P. Pratt's men who were slowly pushing their way northward toward the settlements. Messengers had earlier informed the group of the militia's actions in Utah Valley and warned them to be alert for any sign of Indian reprisals. David Fullmer, who was in charge of the explorers, reported that a few Utah Lake Utes had camped with his group for three days. They acted amicably and showed a desire to obtain ammunition. None was traded to them, and no problems arose from the encounter.[57]

Sometime in the middle of March, Utes began returning to Utah Valley. This offered the colonists an opportunity to ascertain the intentions of the Indians and possibly make peace with them. A group of about two dozen Utes, including Chiefs Peteetneet, Tabby, and Grospene, visited Table Point. There they found the unburied, decapitated bodies of the Utes who were shot down by the militia on 14 February and beheaded several days later by Orr, Blackburn, and Blake. Among the dead lay some of their friends and relatives. The sight must have stirred emotions of anger, sadness, and pity. These Utes camped that night on Table Point, and the denizens of the fort noticed the light and smoke from the Indians' fires.

Early the next morning, a group of between a dozen and two dozen volunteers, mostly young men and older boys, set out from Fort Utah on foot to investigate the source of the fires. To save time, they traveled a direct route over the ice covering Utah Lake. When they were about half way across the lake, the men saw about two dozen mounted Utes ride to the base of Table Point, dismount, walk toward the edge of the lake, and secret themselves behind rocks near its shore. When the volunteers reached a point about a half mile from the Indian position, the Ute chief, Grospene, came out to meet them. Allen Huntington and Jehu Blackburn traveled ahead to see what the chief wanted.

The representatives of both sides met, and the chief very nearly turned the affair into a second, more evenly balanced skirmish at Table Point. Chief Grospene twice struck Allen Huntington over the shoulders, probably with his riding quirt, and demanded to know why the settlers had killed his friends and relations. Huntington drew his pistol and began to cock it to shoot the emotional chief. Jehu Blackburn averted a potential tragedy by snatching the weapon from Huntington's hand. The main party of militiamen joined the advance negotiators, and the whole group, including Chief Grospene, moved toward the Utes on the shore. According to Robert T. Thomas, when the two groups met, the Utes were surprised that the volunteers were so young and said, "Have you sent boys over here to fight us?" Apparently, after some explanations and conciliatory conversation, the chief's temper cooled and the Utes and colonists effected a peace. Thomas described the process:

> There was 24 Indians and 23 boys and men, we built a fire, got some tobacco and provision, one Indian would set down [and] then an white [would sit next to him and] so on till all was seated in a circle around the fire, and We all begain to smoke the pipe of peace and eat to gether. We talk with them one hour, the Indian[s] let the boys ride behind them to the fort these Indians stade with us 2 or 3 months in the fort.[58]

These Utes belonged to the Spanish Fork and Peteetneet bands, but they later helped establish peace between the remnant of the Timpanogots and the settlers.[59]

The Mormons and Utes made no written treaty, at least none is known to exist. However, there is evidence that they at least arrived at some sort of oral

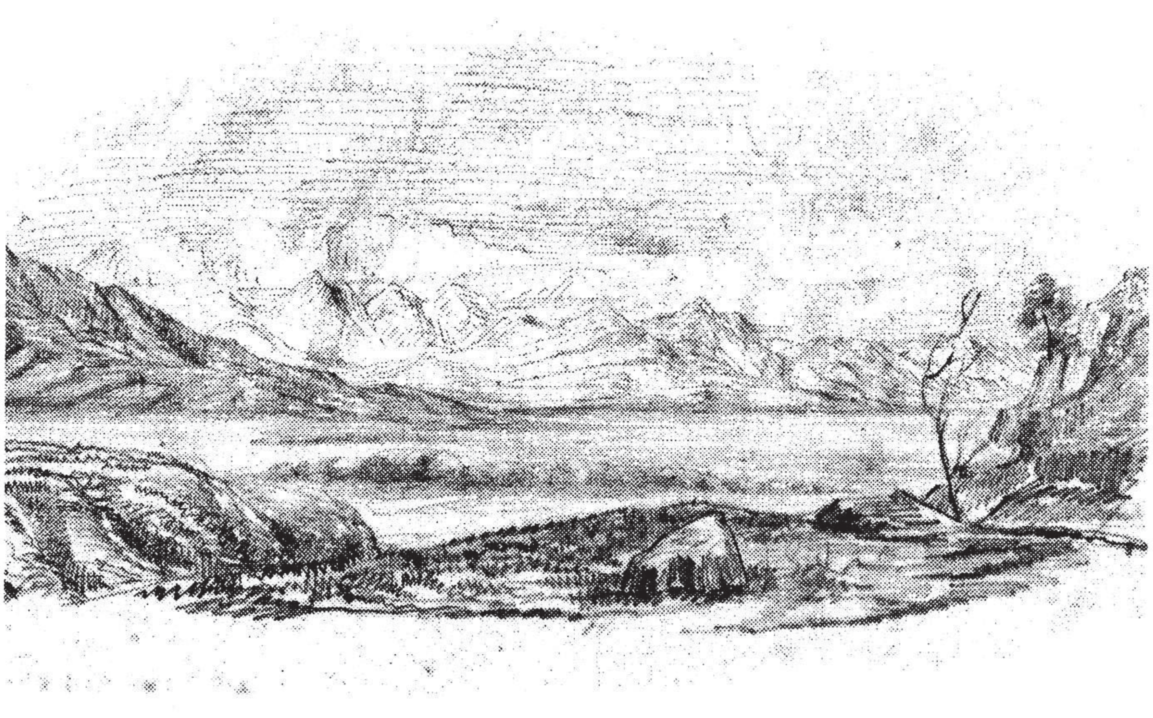

FIGURE 71

John Hudson's sketch of Table Mountain and Table Point on the south end of Utah Lake. *Table Mountain is seen on the left, and Table Point extends from Table Mountain to the shores of Utah Lake. Sometime in the middle of March 1850, approximately a month after militiamen shot down a group of Ute warriors at Table Point, two dozen Ute men and a like number of militiamen from Fort Utah met in the same location. The conciliatory actions of Jehu Blackburn turned this potentially explosive situation into a peaceful gathering.* COURTESY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, J. WILLARD MARRIOTT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF UTAH.

agreement. Mormons leaders had earlier made it known that if the Utes promised to be peaceful and steal no more Mormon livestock, the colonists would return the Ute horses captured by the militia.[60]

Action taken by General Wells shows that Grospene, Peteetneet, and Tabby agreed to these stipulations. On 21 March, Wells instructed William Crosby, bishop of Cottonwood, to give the Indian Horses that had been left in his care to Grospene. Wells also wanted a written description of the horses Crosby gave the Ute. The date on Wells' letter shows that the Utes and the colonists of Fort Utah had reached their agreement before 21 March.[61] Perhaps the basic accord was reached when the two groups met at Table Point and the details were ironed out later. At any rate, Grospene picked up the horses from Bishop Crosby and drove them to Utah Valley with instructions to return them to their rightful owners or the owners' nearest living relatives.[62]

In a letter to Isaac Higbee and Peter W. Conover, General Wells instructed the two Fort Utah leaders to convey to the Utes, by word and action, the feeling that the settlers wanted to be their friends, not their enemies. Wells wanted the leaders at Fort Utah to tell the Utes that the colonists did not want their women, children, and horses, but their friendship.[63] Hopefully, returning the horses to the Utes helped indicate to the Indians that the settlers meant what they said.

In March, Mormon leaders continued to make plans for the development and expansion of the new settlement at Fort Utah. Utah's delegate to Congress, John M. Bernhisel, labored in Washington D.C. for the establishment of a federal postal route from Salt Lake City to Utah and Sanpete valleys.[64]

During the latter part of March, while settlers at Fort Utah busily prepared and planted their land, work began in Salt Lake City on a plat for a new settlement site in Utah Valley. The townsite was to be established southeast of Fort Utah in an area that had been selected by Brigham Young the previous September. On this higher, drier site, farms would be more secure from floods and there would be less alkali in the soil.[65] Thomas Bullock and William Lemon designed a plat for a settlement eleven blocks square. Each block contained twelve lots measuring twelve rods (200 feet) by four rods (sixty-six feet), and streets measuring five rods (eighty-two-and-a-half feet) in width surrounded the blocks. They reserved the central square for a church and schools. Legislators in Salt Lake City had previously named the future city Provo.[66]

Ironically, as the settlement's first year came to an end on 1 April 1850, Fort Utah folk may have celebrated the colony's birthday by making preparations to move to a new location. Later that year they constructed their second fort where Provo's North Park is currently located on Fifth West and Fifth North. Looking back, the colonists must have considered their initial year to be anything but idyllic. It had been filled with hard work, excitement, and problems with the Timpanogots. The first year was made memorable by several failures and an equal number of successes.

Even before the first settlers had left for Utah Valley, the Salt Lake City High Council had formulated a list of objectives they expected the new colonists to achieve. They hoped the colonists could build new homes, put in crops, open a fishery, start schools, improve Ute morals, and teach the Indians to cultivate the soil, raise cattle, and catch fish to sell to the settlers.[67]

Most of their plans relating to the Utes failed. It appears that the majority of the colonists were too hard pressed providing for their own needs to spent much time working with the Utes. No known evidence indicates that the settlers made any effort to teach the Utes how to farm and raise cattle. Also, the Indians appear to have had little intention of changing their way of life. Levi Jackman described the situation from the colonists' point of view:

> It was considered wisdom to establish a settlement in the Eutaw valley and if possable to instruct the fue Indians that lived at that place in the art of agriculture. Accordingly about the first of Apriel [1849] about thirty men with quite a number of fameles started for that place a distance of

> about sixty miles and fine countrey - But when they got to the place the Indians appeared to be willing for them to live there and rais grain, cattle &c but they [the Utes] chose [to] hunt and fish and swap for what bread they wanted rather than to work.[68]

Encouraging the Indians to catch and market fish met with more success. The Utes already fished to a considerable extent, and evidence shows that the skill of bartering some of their catch to the pioneers came more naturally to them than farming and ranching. In a letter to his brother Orson, Parley P. Pratt described Indian fishing and mentioned the possibility of buying fish at a reasonable rate.[69] This willingness on the part of the Utes to barter fish to the new settlers may have made the necessity of having a pioneer fishery on the river and the lake a little less pressing. It is uncertain whether the colonists established a formal fishery during the first year or not. Although Albert Carrington made note of a fish trap on the Provo River near land that was claimed by John S. and Isaac Higbee, he failed to mention if the trap had been built by the Utes or the colonists. Individual settlers undoubtedly did some fishing on their own.

Documentation that the colonists made formal efforts to improve the morals of the Utes is lacking, although the settlers must have explained their beliefs and morals to the Indians when the occasion presented itself. When Dimick B. Huntington first met Chief Waccara, the interpreter told the chief of the Book of Mormon,[70] and other interpreters likely followed suit. However, it appears that the pioneers made little progress in converting the Utes. In fact, evidence exists that the Utes were somewhat more successful in persuading a number of the male colonists to follow their way of life. On occasion, Brigham Young found it necessary to chastise some of the men of Fort Utah for gambling and horse racing with the Utes and spending too much time loafing and smoking with them instead of teaching them to work.[71] Although these casual relationships between the two peoples resulted in the development of a few good friendships that first year, the colonists failed to gain the overwhelming trust, respect, and friendship of the Timpanogots.

The colonists had limited success in another area during the first year of settlement. Many of them came to Utah Valley primarily for personal gain. They worked hard at building cabins, herding cattle and raising crops, but at the end of the first year, they did not seem to be significantly better off than they had been in Salt Lake Valley. Their progress was hampered by frosts, storms, and Indian theft and resistance. Most of the material gain they did make was lost as a result of the Utah Valley Campaign against the Utes.

The inhabitants of the fort did manage to begin holding rudimentary schools for their children, but the Utes were either excluded from these schools or chose not to attend. These educational experiences were of short duration and school supplies were extremely limited. The first school was taught by Zina Diantha Young, and it catered to younger children. This school lasted for about a month during the late summer of 1849. The next school was taught by Englishman John Hudson. Even though all of the eligible students in the fort were not enrolled in Hudson's class, his cabin was very crowded with students. He taught only one term. It is possible that there were other teachers that first year. Mary Ann Turner Thomas, William Hearst, and George Washington Bean were all early teachers. They may have taught sessions during the first part of 1850, but it is also possible that their schools did not begin until early in the second year of settlement.

Perhaps the two most impressive accomplishments of the settlers were their establishment of a stronghold in the middle of the most desirable lands occupied by the Utes and their ability to hold onto that land in the face of Indian opposition. With the strong support of Mormon leaders in Salt Lake City and the militia from Salt Lake Valley, the colonists of Fort Utah succeeded in keeping their colony despite strong resistance from the Utes. Their defeat of the Timpanogots in the Utah Valley Campaign broke the will of the Timpanogots and other Utah Valley Utes to vigorously oppose new settlements in the remainder of the valley. This opened the way for the establishment of new colonies on Ute land in 1850, and Lehi, Pleasant Grove, Springville, Payson, Alpine, Spanish Fork, American Fork, and Lindon were all established later that year.

In spite of their limited success during the first year, many of the settlers must have seen the promise of better times to come. They likely entered their second year of settlement with substantial faith in the future.

Endnotes

1. Reddick N. Allred, "Autobiography of Reddick N. Allred," npn, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

2. Daniel H. Wells to Brigham Young, 18 February 1850, Utah Territorial Militia Records, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as UTMR).

3. Edward W. Tullidge, "History of Provo City," *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* 3 (July 1884): 239.

4. Daniel H. Wells to Brigham Young, 18 February 1850, UTMR.

5. John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons, or Latter-day Saints, in the Valley of The Great Salt Lake* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Company, 1852), 146–47.

6. John W. Gunnison, Journal, 20 February 1850, as quoted in Brigham D. Madsen, ed., *Exploring the Great Salt Lake* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund and University of Utah Press, 1989), 265 (hereafter cited as Gunnison, Journal); Tullidge,

"History of Provo City," 239.

7. William Hickman and J.H. Beadle, *Brigham's Destroying Angel: Being The Life, Confession, and Startling Disclosures of the Notorious Bill Hickman, The Danite Chief of Utah* (New York: George A. Crofutt, 1872), 68.

8. Ibid.

9. "Provo Pioneers of 1847," *Provo Daily Herald*, 24 July 1922, 1.

10. Epsy Jane Williams Pace, "Autobiography of Epsy Jane Williams Pace," 1, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

11. Abner Blackburn, Narrative, as quoted in Abner Blackburn, *Frontiersman: Abner Blackburn's Narrative*, ed. Will Bagley (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), 170 (hereafter cited as Blackburn, Narrative).

12. Anna Clark Hale, *Memoirs of Anna Clark Hale* (n.p.: printed privately, 1965), 22. Half a century after the Utah Valley Campaign concluded, an elderly survivor of the affair mentioned the decapitation of the Utes in a speech made before a group of Indian War Veterans in Salt Lake City. Some of his comrades soundly criticized him and claimed he was in error. The *Salt Lake Herald* carried the following story: "Some speaker yesterday stated that during the Indian troubles in Utah county the heads of six Indians were cut off and sent to Brigham Young, upon receipt of which he sent a stern rebuke to those who had committed the outrage. The comrades here say no such thing ever occurred. The Indians killed or taken prisoner were always treated with due respect, and none were ever scalped or beheaded." The truth may never die, but it sometimes suffers from lapse of memory. "No Indians Beheaded," *Salt Lake Herald*, 10 August 1900, 5.

13. Blackburn, Narrative, 171.

14. William McBride, Peter W. Conover, and John McEwan to Daniel H. Wells, 22 February 1850, UTMR.

15. Four of the Ute heads collected by Blake, Blackburn, and Orr after the engagement at Table Point actually arrived in Salt Lake City before Blackburn did. In a letter to his mother that he began on 15 February and finished several days later, F.R. Grist revealed that these four heads arrived with the main body of militia on 19 February. F.R. Grist to his mother, 15 February 1850, Elizabeth Washington Grist Knox Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

16. Wells to Young, 18 February 1850; McBride, Conover, and McEwan to Wells, 21 February 1850; Gunnison, Journal, 20 February 1850; Historian's Office Journal, 29 April 1850, LDS Church Archives.

17. George Mayer, Reminiscences and Diary, 33–34, LDS Church Archives.

18. Ibid., 34.

19. Daniel H. Wells, General Orders #3, 18 February 1850, UTMR.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. James Leach, Reminiscences and Diary, npn, LDS Church Archives.

24. Hosea Stout, Diary, 19 February 1850, as quoted in Hosea Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier*, ed. Juanita Brooks, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964),

2:362—63 (hereafter cited as Stout, Diary); Historian's Office Journal, 19 February 1850; Daniel Davis, Diary, 19 February 1850, LDS Church Archives.

25. Leach, Reminiscences and Diary, npn.

26. Historian's Office Journal, 19 February 1850; Stout, Diary, 19 February 1850.

27. Gunnison, Journal, 20 February 1850.

28. Joseph Grafton Hovey, Journal, 24 February 1850, LDS Church Archives.

29. Historian's Office Journal, 19 February 1850.

30. Daniel H. Wells, to U.S. Secretary of War, February 1850, UTMR.

31. George Mayer, Howard Stansbury, John W. Gunnison, George Washington Bean, Appleton Harmon, John Brown, and George John Taylor are among those who reported 40 Indian deaths. John Lyman Smith claimed there were 24 deaths, Daniel Davis, 25; Daniel H. Wells, 27; and William I. Appleby, 30. Mayer, Reminiscences and Diary, 34; Howard Stansbury, *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1855), 149; Gunnison, *The Mormons*, 147; Flora Diana Bean Horne, comp., *Autobiography of George Washington Bean, a Utah Pioneer of 1847 and His Family Records* (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1945), 62; Appleton Milo Harmon, Reminiscences, as quoted in Maybell Harmon Anderson, ed., *Appleton Milo Harmon Goes West* (Berkeley, Cal.: Gillick Press, 1946), 56 (hereafter cited as Harmon, Reminiscences); John Brown, Reminiscences and Journals, 46, LDS Church Archives; George John Taylor, Notebook, February 1850, LDS Church Archives; John Lyman Smith, Autobiography and Diaries, February 1850, 12, LDS Church Archives; Daniel Davis, Diary, 19 February 1850, LDS Church Archives; Daniel H. Wells, "Narrative of Daniel H. Wells," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 6 (October 1933): 126; William I. Appleby, Biography and Journal, 19 February 1850, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

32. Harmon, Reminiscences, 174–75.

33. Marilla Miller, Diary, 29 January and 4 February 1850, typescript, Springville Historical Society Collection, Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, Springville, Utah.

34. Ibid., 7 February 1850.

35. Ibid., 10 February 1850.

36. Ibid., 11 February 1850.

37. Ibid., 16 February 1850.

38. Ibid., 17 February 1850.

39. A list of the names of the detachment left in Utah Valley under Captain McBride's command shows that the men from Fort Utah who served with him were: G. [Gershon C.] Case, G. Daily, John Whealen [John Wheeler?], L. Woods, William Pace, George Day, Joseph Clark, Riley Clark, Abner Blackburn, Rufus Stoddard, Jerome Zabriskie, F. [Francis] M. Haws, Allen Huntington, William F. Ivie, Filone [Philo] Carter, and Samuel Facten [?]. List of detachment in Utah Valley, 18 February 1850, UTMR.

40. William McBride, Peter W. Conover, and John McEwan to Daniel H. Wells, 18 February 1850, UTMR.

41. William McBride, Peter W. Conover, and John McEwan to Daniel H. Wells, 19 February 1850, UTMR.

42. William McBride, Peter W. Conover, and John McEwan to Daniel H. Wells, 20 February 1850, UTMR; McBride, Conover, and McEwan to Wells, 21 February 1850.

43. McBride, Conover, and McEwan to Wells, 20 February 1850.

44. Ibid.

45. McBride, Conover, and McEwan to Wells, 21 February 1850.

46. Ibid.

47. McBride, Conover, and McEwan to Wells, 22 February 1850.

48. William McBride, Peter W. Conover, and John McEwan to Daniel H. Wells, 23 February 1850, UTMR.

49. Daniel H. Wells to William McBride, 23 February 1850, UTMR.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. William McBride and Peter W. Conover to Daniel H. Wells, 24 February 1850, UTMR.

53. Ibid.; Historian's Office Journal, 25 February 1850.

54. Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 20 February 1850, 1, LDS Church Archives (hereafter cited as Journal History).

55. Ibid.

56. Minutes about Indians, 28 February 1850, Brigham Young Office Files, LDS Church Archives.

57. Journal History, 16 March 1850, 1–2.

58. The best descriptions of the second confrontation at Table Point are found in: Robert T. Thomas, "Autobiography of Robert T. Thomas as Dictated to His Son William Thomas in 1888 and Found in an Historical Sketch and Genealogy of the Thomas Families, 1888–1895," 60–62; and Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 63.

59. Horne, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 63.

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